

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Nixon's trip to Moscow Not one step closer to peace

President Nixon's trip to Moscow and all the declarations and communiques he signed there did not bring the world one step closer to peace. The war in Indochina isn't one day nearer to being over because of this "summit" conference. Nor are the causes of imperialist war any closer to being eliminated.

On the contrary, Nixon proved that he can promise peace and even put his name to "peace" agreements at the same time that he steps up one of the longest and bloodiest wars in history.

He has been able to get away with this because the Soviet bureaucracy has made one of the worst betrayals of a revolutionary movement in its history. The Kosygin-Brezhnev regime, which has failed to adequately support the Vietnamese revolution from the beginning, turned its back on the Vietnamese workers and peasants at a time when their struggle against the capitalist-landlord regime in Saigon is close to victory. Thus, Moscow turned its back on a victory that would inspire everyone throughout the world who is fighting against oppression.

There is nothing inherently wrong with the Soviet regime discussing, negotiating, or even trading with U.S. imperialism. However, when this is done at the expense of a revolutionary struggle anywhere in the world, it can only be called by its real name—betrayal.

In the context of Nixon's mining of North Vietnamese ports, the Soviet bureaucrats' decision to go ahead with the scheduled meetings represented one of the

most blatant chapters of this betrayal.

While U.S. bombers carried out one of the most ferocious attacks on North Vietnam in the history of the war, the Soviet officials welcomed Nixon to Moscow, where they wined and dined him. They exchanged fancy gifts. They flew American flags and played the "Star Spangled Banner." They provided him with free time on Soviet radio and television. They drank toasts with him.

What did they hope to gain from all this? A science and cultural agreement; an arms control promise; and trade concessions. What penny-ante objectives these are compared to the stakes involved in the struggle of the Vietnamese!

The Soviet regime's response tries to give credence to the lie that war can be ended through agreements between itself and the imperialist government in Washington.

In their attempt to achieve this state of "peaceful coexistence," the Soviet bureaucrats not only fail to expose but actually cover up the real roots of wars today—imperialism's inherent drive to bring all the world's markets, raw materials, and labor under its control. No proclamations signed in Moscow can suppress the struggles of the oppressed nations and the workers republics against imperialist domination. However, such pacts do serve to miseducate, disorient, and demobilize millions who would have engaged in massive international protests against Nixon's intervention in Indochina. As has been the case during the entire history of the war, the significant international actions that



Nixon and Brezhnev exchange copies of 'peace' agreement.

took place were organized in spite of the Soviet regime.

If Moscow would call for united mass protests and urge Communist parties throughout the world to exercise maximum effort to help organize those actions, their size would be considerably larger and their political impact greater. The mass Communist parties in Italy and France, for example, are both capable of organizing genuinely massive actions. But they have done virtually nothing.

Not only has the Kosygin-Brezhnev response failed to bring the world closer to peace, but in fact, it has actually set the stage for the imperialists to escalate the conflict. The Soviet bureaucrats' treacherous policy is a signal to the warmakers in Washington that

they can intensify the bombing of Vietnam, mine its ports, and cut its supply routes without Moscow making a serious attempt to circumvent or protest these actions.

As a Chicago Daily News correspondent reports from Saigon, "Ranking U.S. sources here are encouraged that neither Russia nor China, North Vietnam's two major allies, has attempted to break, bypass or repair the damage resulting from the American blockade and bombing campaign."

This comes on top of Moscow's policy throughout the war of doling out aid to North Vietnam with an eyedropper.

Such treachery by the bureaucratic regimes in both China and the Soviet Union not only encour-

Continued on page 6

Thousands in African solidarity march/3 Big crowds hear Jenness in Argentina/5 Why the workers in Quebec revolted/8

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 African Liberation Day actions
- 4 Brezhnev: portrait of an imposter
- 5 Thousands hear Jenness in Argentina
- 8 Quebecois nationalism fuels workers' revolt
- 9 Quebec workers took over mining city
- 10 Mine union dissidents hold convention
- 11 Five in Bloomington join YSA, reject YWLL
- 12 Moscow's pact with Washington
- 13 Int'l program to defend Vietnamese struggle
- 14 SWP ballot campaign gains thousands of new signatures
- 15 Socialist challenges Democrat Dellums
- 16 The April Coalition: many splits, few gains
- 17 New Zealand women's march
- 18 U.S. war destroys Viet ecology
- 19 Longshore leaders and the Pay Board
- 21 Farm workers rally in Phoenix
- 24 Angela Davis trial
- Portland SMC fights frame-up suit

- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion Letters
- 7 The Great Society Women: The Insurgent Majority
- 15 '72 Socialist Campaign
- 17 The Militant Gets Around
- 19 The National Picket Line
- 20 In Review
- 21 La Raza en Accion

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 36/NUMBER 22

JUNE 9, 1972

CLOSING NEWS DATE—MAY 31, 1972

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: DOUG JENNESS
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486.

Southwest Bureau: 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Phone: (213) 463-1917.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$7.50. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$22; all other countries, \$24. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$26; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

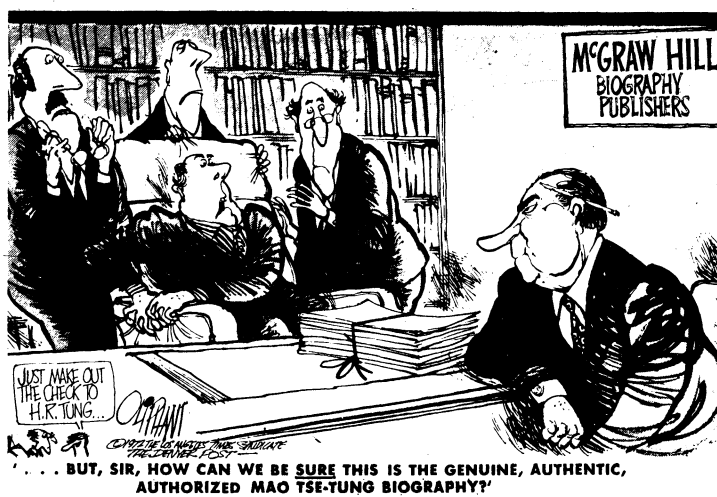
DOUBLE STANDARD? A May 20 Associated Press dispatch reports that two women were confined for 50 years in a British mental hospital because they had had "illegitimate" babies.

Both were committed as "moral defectives" at the request of their parents under laws in force in Britain during the 1920s. Although new mental health laws took effect in 1959, the women "continued to stay on because they had nowhere to go."

SOVIET DISSIDENT: Alexei Tumberman, a citizen of the Soviet Union who has been active in the struggle for democratic rights, expressed the hope that "the question of human rights in the USSR" would be raised by Nixon at the Moscow summit conference. On May 22 he was arrested and confined to a psychiatric hospital.

PATHFINDER PRESS BOOK CITED BY PUBLISHING JOURNAL: The May 1972 issue of *Choice*, a major publishing trade journal, selected *W. E. B. DuBois Speaks*, edited by Philip S. Foner, for its list of outstanding academic books published during 1971.

A two-volume collection of speeches and addresses from 1890 to 1963, *W. E. B. DuBois Speaks* is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Paper: \$2.95 per volume; cloth: \$7.95 per volume.



BARBARIC TREATMENT OF SAN QUENTIN SIX: The San Quentin Six are prisoners charged with murder and conspiracy. The charges stem from the events in San Quentin on August 21 that resulted in the death of three prison guards and three prisoners, including George Jackson.

The Prisoners Solidarity Committee in San Francisco reports that when the San Quentin Six appeared in court on May 12, David Johnson, one of the defendants, announced to the spectators that Hugo Pinell had been isolated from the other prisoners and provided with food filled with glass and human waste. Pinell was recently convicted of voluntary manslaughter in connection with the death of a prison guard.

The Six are demanding better treatment of Pinell; loosening of their handcuffs in court; removal of guards from the area surrounding the defendants to ensure confidential communication with their attorneys; a weekly meeting of the defendants to discuss their case; and the appointment of attorneys of their choice.

Judge Wilson denied these requests with the excuse that he couldn't interfere with "prison operations." When Johnson demanded additional time from the court to speak about Pinell, Judge Wilson banished him to a holding cell. Johnson spat contemptuously—and accurately—at the judge as he was forcibly carried out.

GI ANTIWAR ACTIONS ON MAY 20: GI-civilian antiwar protests took place throughout the country on Armed Forces Day, May 20. Fear of antiwar demonstrations caused the cancellation of military parades and other activities in New York and other cities.

In Chicago, 3,000 people demonstrated at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center. Actions took place at five military bases in California, in Albuquerque, N.M., in Tampa, Fla., at Fort Devens, Mass., and at many military bases in between. Active-duty GIs participated in spite of harassment and alternative attractions organized by the brass.

ANTIWAR PROTESTS: Some 300 persons were arrested during civil disobedience protests in Washington, D.C., on May 22-24.

Also on May 23, the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church followed the example of the United Methodist Church, which a month earlier had condemned the U.S. government for its war against the people of Indochina. The United Presbyterian Church has 3.1 million members.

The New York City Bar Association condemned the war on May 23, calling it the "gravest current threat to the rule of law at home and abroad."

ANTIWAR UNIVERSITY EXPLAINED TO NEW YORK TIMES READERS: An article on the antiwar university, written by Student Mobilization Committee national coordinator Fred Lovgren, appeared on the editorial page of the May 27 *New York Times*.

ASSAULT ON GAYS NOT A CRIME? On May 22, a Manhattan grand jury charged Michael J. Maye, head of the New York Uniformed Firefighters Association, with "harassment" in the beating of a member of the Gay Activists Alliance.

A number of people at the GAA protest that was attacked by Maye and others were seriously hurt, and the grand jury said that Maye "struck, shoved and kicked" Morty Manford of GAA. Despite these facts, no criminal charges were lodged against Maye. The charge of "harassment" is a violation similar to the charge of speeding. It carries a maximum penalty of 15 days in jail.

District Attorney Frank Hogan, who was very reluctant to carry out any investigation of the attack, hinted that the grand jury might also bring charges of trespassing against the gays. Their protest took place at the New York Hilton April 15 during a dinner attended by city officials and news reporters.

BRITISH FAIRNESS A TRADITION: General Sir Walter Walker, former commander of NATO land forces in Northern Europe, has invoked the tradition of British justice against the militant Catholic communities in Northern Ireland, the *Irish Times* reported on May 20.

The general, who just retired from the British army, said at a press conference: "I have engaged in campaign against Blacks, yellows and slant-eyes. Why should we have one rule for the whites and one for the coloureds?"

Walker urged that the "no-go" areas in Northern Ireland be "softened up" and that the British army be sent into them.

CLARIDAD OFFICES BOMBED: The San Juan offices of *Claridad*, weekly newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), were bombed by right-wing terrorists May 18. Two bombs were planted, but one was removed before it exploded and the other caused little damage. Luckily, no one was in the office at the time of the explosion, since *Claridad* reports that the type of bomb used would have caused severe injuries. The attempt was the second such explosion in *Claridad*'s offices, which had been burned down in February 1970 by an incendiary bomb.

Juan Mari Bras, general secretary of the PSP, announced that "Under no circumstances will this paper stop circulating." He said that the staff of *Claridad* was taking steps to defend the office. Response to a massive fund-raising campaign to repair and defend the office has been enthusiastic.

Four days before the blast, *Claridad* had commented in one of its columns that Clark Anderson, FBI chief in Puerto Rico, had recently bragged, "we have several surprises in store for *Claridad*."

THE RIGHT TO HEAR: The May-June issue of *Rights*, the publication of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC), contains an article by George Novack on the case of Belgian Marxist Ernest Mandel.



Ernest Mandel

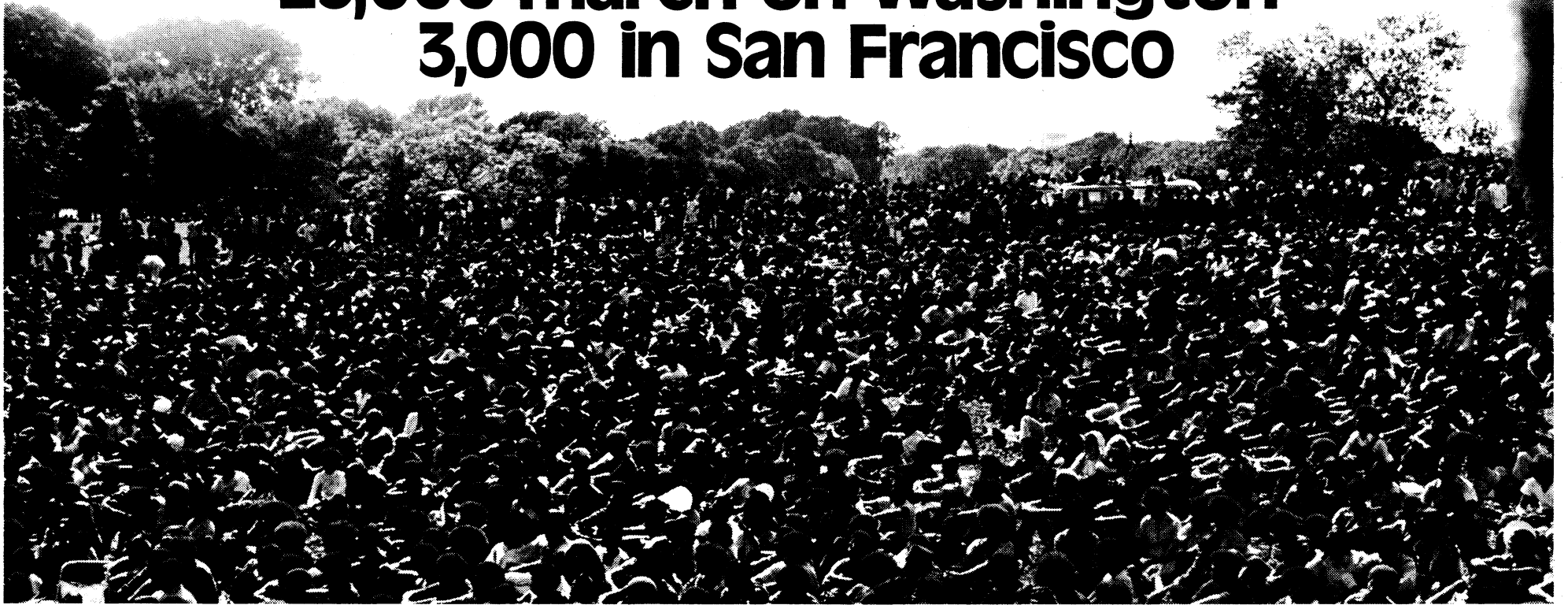
Mandel's exclusion from the United States in 1969 by former attorney general John Mitchell was found unconstitutional by a federal court on the grounds that the right to hear is an essential part of the First Amendment right to full and open debate of political issues. The case is currently before the U.S. Supreme Court as a result of a government appeal. A decision is expected by the end of the current session in June.

The case was argued before the Supreme Court by NECLC General Counsel Leonard Boudin. Contributions to help pay for legal costs may be sent to the Mandel Defense Committee, c/o NECLC, 25 East 26 St., New York, N.Y. 10010.

—DAVE FRANKEL

African Liberation Day actions

25,000 march on Washington 3,000 in San Francisco



Part of the massive crowd at D.C. rally

Photo by B. R. Washington

Washington, D.C.

By DERRICK MORRISON

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 27 — As the crowd at the foot of the Washington Monument, renamed Lumumba Square for the day, chanted "We are an African people," African Liberation Day came to a close. The inspiring demonstration and rally were acts of solidarity with the African liberation struggles going on in South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

Owusu Sadaukai, national chairman of the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee (ALDCC), estimated that 25,000 to 30,000 people participated in the march and rally. Most of the demonstrators were young, primarily students. Although many were from D.C., the majority came from outside the capital. They came in buses and cars from the South, the Midwest, and the New England area. Forty buses came from the city of New York alone, with transportation on all but one of these buses free, provided by Black students from campus resources.

Thousands assembled in the morning in Meridian Hill Park, renamed Malcolm X Park four years ago, to begin the five-mile trek to Lumumba Square. The first stop was the Portuguese Embassy, where a brief rally was held. The march then went on to the Rhodesian Information Center.

A mock South African Embassy stood at the juncture of Rock Creek Drive and Massachusetts Avenue. Reverend Doug Moore of the D.C. Black United Front and the Reverend Lucius Walker of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization spoke.

Moore condemned the U.S., West German, and Israeli governments for their complicity with the apartheid regime in South Africa. Because of the recent criticisms of the Black Agenda's call for the dismantling of Israel, Moore, to cheers from the crowd, repeated his condemnation of the Zionist government. (The Black Agenda originated from the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind., last March.)

Even while this brief rally was going on, thousands of marchers had passed on down Massachusetts Avenue because the intersection could not contain the huge throng. Thousands more stood behind the rally, jammed on Rock Creek Drive.

At the State Department building, the main speaker was Kasisi Weusi (Les Campbell) of The East in Brooklyn. As employees in the building peered

out through plate-glass windows, the throng chanted "Free Africa Now!" and "Nation Time!"

The signs displayed by the demonstrators denounced the Portuguese and U.S. governments and the white racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia.

The marchers finally arrived at the Sylvan Theater, near Lumumba Square. After some brief entertainment, the rally opened. A huge Black nationalist flag of red, black, and green was draped across the speaker's stand. Right in front of the flag there was a large photo of Marcus Garvey, the most prominent nationalist in the early twentieth century. The photo was cut to the profile of the African continent.

The Reverend Walter Fauntroy, D.C. Delegate to Congress and a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, chaired the rally. The speakers included Cecil Elombe Brath of the New York African Nationalist Pioneer Movement; Representative Charles Diggs (D-Mich.), member and former chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus; Elaine Brown of the Black Panther Party; Dr. George Wiley, executive director of the National Welfare Rights Organization; Imamu Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) of the Congress of African People; Roy Innis, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); and Sadaukai.

Messages were read from Brother Imari, president of the Republic of New Africa, who is now in jail awaiting trial on frame-up charges in Jackson, Miss.; and from Stokely Carmichael, the former chairman of SNCC who presently resides in Conakry, Guinea. There was also a speaker from the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).



Photo by B. R. Washington

Owusu Sadaukai addressing D.C. rally.

chael, the former chairman of SNCC who presently resides in Conakry, Guinea. There was also a speaker from the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Through all of the speeches ran the theme of Pan-Africanism—the idea that the struggle of Black people in the Americas is linked with that on the African continent.

Diggs commented, "No longer will the movement for justice in America stop at the water's edge." He attacked the U.S. government's support of

South Africa and Nixon's recent deal to pay Portugal close to a half billion dollars for U.S. use of the Azores.

In his message to the rally, read by Cleveland Sellers, field coordinator for the ALDCC, Stokely Carmichael said he was an "Nkrumahist." He also denounced Israel, hailed the offensive of the Vietnamese revolutionaries against U.S. imperialism, and called for an "independent Black political party" in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

Baraka reviewed the history of the struggle beginning with the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott in 1955 through the civil rights movement and into the nationalist phase of the struggle. He said that a "tremendous leadership" had been thrown up in the 1960s but that the task of the 1970s was organization. "We now must organize a political structure or party that can transform our reality . . . that can run people for office. . . . We must have a Pan-Africanist party," Baraka exhorted.

He cited Malcolm X on the need for "community control" and "unity of groups." Although he said the Black convention in Gary was the beginning of the process of building a political structure, he made no mention of the National Black Political Assembly and its pro-Democratic Party orientation.

The speaker from the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe described the regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa as trusteeships over property held by the U.S., West Germany, Japan, and Canada. He said that just as Black people in the U.S. are moving in behalf of their brothers and sisters on the continent, he wanted to see Africans in Africa moving in solidarity with the struggle in the U.S. He said the struggle in Southern Africa was not just for civil rights but for land.

Sadaukai urged the crowd to keep the local ALDCCs together. He said that there would be a boycott of Gulf Oil, which operates in Angola, and of other American corporations operating in Southern Africa. He then went into some of the trials and tribulations of organizing the demonstration. Afterwards he led the crowd in the chant, "We are an African people."

The demonstration was a graphic display of the power of Black people and a testimony to the depth of Pan-Africanist and nationalist sentiments.

More than 1,000 Blacks marched and rallied on May 27 in Toronto, reports *Militant* correspondent Norman Faria. Support actions were held by Blacks in other Canadian cities.

According to the national office of the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee in Washington,

D.C., thousands of Blacks demonstrated in the Caribbean.

The police estimates for demonstrations in Dominica and Antigua were 5,000 and 8,000. Several thousand were reported to have marched in Grenada.

San Francisco

By KEN MILNER

SAN FRANCISCO, May 27 — "Africa for the Africans!" and "Free Africa!" were some of the chants of 1,500 to 2,000 militant Black demonstrators who marched here through the Fillmore District, a Black community, on African Liberation Day.

The demonstrators, some with posters reading "Colgate fights cavities and freedom" and "IBM computes racism," were greeted along the way with the clenched fist salute by people on the street and leaning out their windows.

After a five-mile march, the demonstrators returned to a rally in Kimbell Park, renamed DuBois Savannah Park. The San Francisco African Liberation Committee, the coalition that organized the action, estimates between 3,000 and 4,000 participated in the march and rally.

Black supporters of the Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, distributed thousands of pieces of campaign literature at the May 27 actions in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

In D.C., supporters sold 300 copies of *The Militant*, 205 copies of the *May International Socialist Review*, \$200 worth of revolutionary books and pamphlets, and signed up 64 new campaign supporters.

In San Francisco, supporters sold 100 copies of *The Militant* and \$250 worth of literature.

The speakers at the rally ranged from African freedom fighters and revolutionary nationalists to Black Democratic politicians. Shirley Graham DuBois, wife of the late Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, and Brother Imari, president of the Republic of New Africa, sent statements to the demonstration.

David Sibeko of the South African Pan-Africanist Congress denounced colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism. He also paid tribute to the late Kwame Nkrumah.

A tape recording by another South African freedom fighter was both inspiring and educational. He pointed out that Vietnam was the focal point of the world revolution and that to defend Southern Africa it was necessary to defend the revolution in Vietnam.

Continued on page 22

Brezhnev: portrait of an imposter

Nobody likes imposters. In fact, when they are exposed they must be about the most despised people around. Take George Meany for example. He pulls down \$90,000 a year, not including fringe benefits. He lives well. He eats well. He does his best to keep peace between workers and their employers. Yet he has the gall to strut around pretending to speak for the people who work for a living in this country. The full contempt of the American workers hasn't been heard yet, but their day will come.

But Meany is actually pretty small potatoes when it comes to imposters. Take Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. As head of the Soviet Communist Party he claims to speak for the oppressed of the entire world, including Vietnam! And of course, he says he also represents the Soviet people. What policies does his government follow? None other than the revolutionary policies of Lenin, he asserts.

Now there's one thing about revolutionaries. You can tell a lot about them from the way they live. Not everything, of course. But a lot.

When Lenin and Krupskaya came to Moscow from Petrograd shortly after the October 1917 revolution, they moved into a three-room apartment on the second floor of the Kremlin. It had previously been occupied by the caretaker. They lived and ate like most of the Russian workers of the time.

But the life-style of Brezhnev, the self-proclaimed revolutionary, is quite another story. It turns out that in addition to a large flat in Moscow, he has a country home. His favorite pastime is hunt-

ing on special preserves kept for high officials.

He is especially attracted to fast and fancy cars. From the various newspaper and magazine accounts it is difficult to determine how many he actually owns. I counted five, a figure somewhat above the Soviet national average.

For state occasions he uses a Soviet-made limousine. For personal use, however, he keeps a Rolls Royce Silver Cloud on hand. He also has a Citroen-Maserati, an executive-style sports car he received as a present during a state visit to France last year, and a Renault 16. As a farewell gift, Nixon presented him with a 1972 Cadillac on behalf of General Motors.

But the general secretary's fine living doesn't stop there. He is also fascinated with expensive cigarette lighters and cases. During his trip to France, Ms. Pompidou was so impressed with his gold lighter from Italy that he gave it to her. It wasn't clear from the reports whether this was in exchange for the sports car.

He also has a cigarette case with a timer to let it open only every 45 minutes. A chain-smoker, he claims this limits him to 17 cigarettes a day. Just the thing every Russian can pick up for a few rubles, assuming they would want to.

While in Moscow, Tricky-Dick put on a big feed for Brezhnev and his cohorts. As scores of U.S. planes bombed North and South Vietnam, Brezhnev tasted his first baked Alaska. "America is a land of miracles," he exclaimed in excitement.

An imposter reigns in the land where the workers and peasants first took power away from the capitalists. An imposter who represents only the priv-



Leonid Brezhnev at his country home

ileged parasites who feed off the labor of others.

He doesn't speak for the Moscow resident who angrily told a government cop as Nixon's motorcade came into town, "Why all this fuss about Nixon? For Vietnam, he should be hanged at the corner lamppost, and you try to put everything in order." This was a breath of revolutionary internationalism that someday will be part of the storm that will throw Brezhnev and all other imposters out on their ear!

—DOUG JENNESS

U.S. ferocity in Vietnam at new peak

By DICK ROBERTS

MAY 31—A U.S. military official in Saigon told reporters last week, "I'm not aware of any wraps placed on our operations during President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union." This turned out to be the understatement of the year. During the Moscow summit U.S. air operations against the Vietnamese reached historic peaks.

"Never before in the Vietnam war, or perhaps in any war, has air power been used with such ferocity," *New York Times* correspondent Sydney Schanberg wrote from Hue May 26.

"The war from the skies was deadlier than ever," *Time* magazine states in its June 5 issue. "The Nixon Administration last week ordered another increase in the bombing of North Viet Nam," *Time* continues. "One additional squadron of B-52s was ordered into action, and the range of targets was expanded to include factories, power plants and chemical works."

The same theme was repeated in the June 5 issue of *U.S. News & World Report*, a magazine that echoes the views of the Pentagon. "Practically every major railhead, supply depot, gun emplacement, airfield, radar installation, truck park and fuel dump in North Vietnam is coming under air attack," *U.S. News* stated.

"Roads and railroads leading south to the battlefields are being methodi-

cally cut and then cut again as they are repaired. The two rail lines leading from Hanoi to Red China are bombed daily.

"Now, the White House has added to the target list such nonmilitary installations as power plants, factories, repair shops and industrial facilities.

"From May 8 through May 25, American fighter-bombers flew more than 4,600 missions against the North."

In the article in which he described the air war as the most ferocious in the war, *Times* reporter Schanberg also stressed the degree to which it has aided the Saigon armies. "So far, American air power is what has kept the North Vietnamese from advancing on Hue, just as it has been the crucial factor on the two other fronts, in the Central Highlands and Anloc," Schanberg said.

He described forays of a Saigon unit. "The marine division, one of the few effective units defending Hue, has carried out some offensive in-and-out sallies behind enemy lines in the last two weeks. These operations would not have been possible without American helicopters to lift the men behind the lines, and American bombers and fighter-bombers to soften up the enemy pockets and provide direct fire support when the marines made contact with the enemy. . . .

"Military sources have confirmed, for example, that strikes by B-52

stratofortresses, each of which drops 24 tons of bombs, have been used against enemy groups as small as 20 or 30 men."

Tank advances of the revolutionary fighters are repulsed by U.S. aircraft. For example, *Times* reporter Craig Whitney described the Kontum front May 28. "The four tanks reportedly knocked out in Kontum yesterday were hit by wire-guided air-to-ground missiles fired from helicopters of the United States Army's First Aviation Brigade," Whitney reported.

The implications of the intensive U.S. air offensive in Vietnam while Nixon visited Moscow were spelled out by James Reston, the *Times'* influential Washington correspondent. "The North Vietnamese should be getting the message by now," Reston declared on May 25.

"Their main ports are closed by American mines. There are now six U.S. aircraft carriers off their coast, bombing them night and day. The railroad lines from China to Hanoi are now under constant attack, and the weather and American air power have slowed down their offensive against Hue and Danang in the north, Kontum city in the central highlands, and Anloc, north of Saigon.

"Moreover, the U.S. counteroffensive in the air is not only battering their lines of communication and supply, but turning to their electric power

plants, and they are on notice that their industrial factories will be next and that even the destruction of the Red River dikes is not ruled out.

"Meanwhile, the Chinese diplomats almost seem to be going out of their way these days to be pleasant to Americans in the capitals of the world, and the Soviets are signing an

Antiwar Convention

Nixon's most recent escalation of the war underscores once again the necessity for continued antiwar actions. A national convention to plan fall actions will take place in Los Angeles, July 22 and 23, hosted by the National Peace Action Coalition. For further information, contact NPAC, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 911, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 741-2019. Or NPAC-West, 111 N. Vermont Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90004. Telephone: (213) 487-6463.

agreement a day with President Nixon on issues which are more important to Moscow than Vietnam. . . .

"The plain fact is that President Nixon now has no incentive to stop the bombing and lift the blockade, other than the human tragedy, which does not seem to move him."

As these lines emphasize, Nixon has already reaped great benefits from his Peking and Moscow visits.

March protests Nixon-Shah meeting

By VINNIE LONGO

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 30—More than 100 Iranians, Palestinians, and others protested Nixon's visit to Iran and the Shah's repressive police regime here today. The demonstration was organized by the Washington-Baltimore Iranian Students Association.

According to ISA spokesman Fahad Bibak, the World Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union) initiated the call for May 30 protest actions to coincide with Nixon's arrival in Iran. Other actions were slated for Chicago and San Francisco.

The demonstration went through downtown Washington to the Iranian embassy. Most of the marchers wore paper masks over their faces to avoid identification by the Iranian secret police. Such identification in the past has led to imprisonment and torture

for ISA activists' friends and relatives living in Iran.

Chants included "U.S. get out of Iran, U.S. get out of Vietnam," "Free the Iranian political prisoners," "Down with the Shah," and "Stop the torture in Iran."

The action focused on the need to end what was called the U.S. government's attempts to apply "Vietnamization" to the Middle East.

An ISA statement pointed out that this is Nixon's second trip to Iran. "He first visited Iran in 1953, soon after the CIA engineered a coup which overthrew the popular government of Dr. Mossadegh. In opposition to this trip, massive demonstrations erupted throughout Iran. In order to suppress this wave of protest, the Shah's paratroopers attacked the University of Teheran and brutally murdered three students.

"The present trip is to consolidate the 'Nixon Doctrine' in Iran. Despite its failure in Vietnam, [it] remains the basis of the U.S. foreign policy in dealing with National Liberation movements and U.S. interests abroad."



The Shah of Iran

Speaks on socialism and Vietnam Thousands hear Jenness in Argentina

By BEN ATWOOD

BUENOS AIRES, Argentina, May 29—A standing-room-only crowd of 3,000 jammed into a theater here on May 26 to hear Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness. The gathering was organized in solidarity with the struggle in the United States against the Vietnam war and for socialism.

This meeting was the highlight of several large gatherings in Argentina. These meetings are part of the U.S. candidate's speaking tour of several

with the Fourth International."

Newspapers in several cities have covered Jenness's tour. Articles have appeared in *La Opinión*, the main Buenos Aires daily; in *Cronica* and *Clarín*, two other Buenos Aires papers; in *La Capital* in Rosario; and in *El Pueblo* and *La Gaceta* in Tucumán.

Buenos Aires meeting

The Argentine Socialist Party co-sponsored the May 26 meeting with the Partido Socialista Popular (PSP—

Ricans, women, and workers. The case of Angela Davis is well known here as in all other Latin American countries, and Jenness's appeal for support to the case drew thunderous applause.

As she ended her speech, Jenness expressed her conviction that revolutionaries around the world will build mass working-class parties to fight for freedom from exploitation and oppression, for a socialist world.

Mobbed by well-wishers and autograph seekers, Jenness made her way through the crowd and walked three blocks to her hotel, surrounded by a crowd of admirers.

She left on the overnight train for her next stop—Mar del Plata. Her meeting there May 27 at the Provincial University drew 1,000 people, including many workers. *La Capital*, the local daily newspaper, had announced her arrival in advance.

The success of the meeting for Jenness was a tribute to its organizers, who united to build the meeting in spite of the serious divisions between the different leftist groups. Representatives of six different campus organizations spoke to the crowd before Jenness's speech and presented statements of solidarity with the struggle for socialism in the U.S., the U.S. anti-war movement, and the Vietnamese revolution. Campus activists reported that it was the first such united meeting in their memory.

That evening, 300 women came to a meeting to hear Jenness discuss the feminist movement in the United States.

Earlier, on May 24, the SWP can-

ness and announced that the meeting was an expression of solidarity with the American antiwar movement. A large banner calling for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam covered the wall behind the rostrum.

Toward the end of a lively one-and-a-half hour discussion period, Jenness was asked to comment on the activities and policies of urban guerilla groups. In Argentina there are at least five such groups which attempt to influence national politics through armed actions by small guerilla units. Jenness began by pointing out that it was not her intention to use her visit here to intervene in Argentine politics. She then stated that her party's position is that small groups of people isolated from the majority of workers and their allies cannot successfully mobilize the masses in the struggle for national independence and socialism.

The previous day Jenness had visited historic Tucumán, the seat of the first independent Argentine government in 1810, during the struggle for independence from Spain. Reporters from the two daily newspapers met her when she arrived. At the National University of Tucumán she spoke to a meeting of 1,000 organized by a broad committee of socialist and radical campus groups.

The auditorium originally intended for the meeting proved too small, so amid shouts of "to the patio!" from those who could not gain entry, everyone moved outside. The audience broke into enthusiastic applause when Jenness called for support to the Viet-



Photo from ASI/Buenos Aires

Typical of the enthusiastic response to Jenness's visit in Argentina, she is welcomed by 200 young supporters at the Buenos Aires airport on May 21.

Latin American countries. In the past few days, Jenness has addressed overflow crowds of more than 1,000 people in the Argentine cities of Tucumán, Rosario, and Mar del Plata.

Jenness is the guest of the Partido Socialista Argentino (PSA—Argentine Socialist Party), which publishes *Avanzada Socialista*, a weekly paper. The party is currently engaged in an effort to gain ballot status for the March 1973 national elections.

The enthusiastic response Jenness has received here—both from the news media and particularly from young people—demonstrates the wide interest in socialist ideas as a result of the profound radicalization taking place in Argentina today. Of special note is the deep opposition the young people are showing to Nixon's escalation of the war.

The kind of reception the press has given Jenness all over Argentina is illustrated by a two-page interview with the SWP candidate printed in the May 23 issue of the Buenos Aires magazine *ASI*. The interviewer wrote, "This most distinguished visitor has just arrived in the country to denounce the aggression of the government of her country in Vietnam and to give an impetus to the women's liberation movement."

Asked to describe herself politically, Jenness replied, according to *ASI*, "I am a revolutionary socialist." She told of the reactionary U.S. laws that prevent the SWP from formally affiliating to an international party. "But," she said, "ideologically I am in agreement

Popular Socialist Party) and the Partido Socialista Democrático (PSD—Democratic Socialist Party).

Although the meeting was scheduled to begin at 8 p.m., the theater was already packed when Jenness arrived at 7:30 p.m., and many people had to be turned away at the entrance. Inside, banners and placards, mostly against the war in Vietnam, covered the walls. TV cameras were present.

Sylvia Díaz chaired the meeting, which included speeches by Jenness, Nora Giattoni of the Argentine Socialist Party, and 87-year-old Alicia Moreau del Justo, a historic figure in the Argentine socialist movement and a leader of the Argentine feminist movement. Moreau, speaking immediately before Jenness, said she had accepted the invitation to address the gathering because she wished to collaborate in the bold struggle undertaken by her North American com-
pañera Linda Jenness.

Jenness's 45-minute speech, delivered in fluent Spanish, was interrupted repeatedly by cheers, chants, and showers of confetti from the balcony. She expressed the solidarity of those fighting against Yankee imperialism in the United States with those who fight to free their own country from U.S. aggression. She said that a victory for the Vietnamese revolution will be a victory for the American workers and the workers of the entire world.

The crowd showed enthusiastic solidarity with the struggles in the United States of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto



Photo by Ben Atwood

On May 19 Jenness joined 25,000 to 30,000 demonstrators in Lima, Peru, in that country's first march against the war in Southeast Asia.

didate spoke to 1,000 people who squeezed into the auditorium at the University of Rosario. Another 500 stood outside, attempting to listen through the doorways and windows. A generous sprinkling of older people from past socialist movements joined the predominantly young crowd. Nearly every point of view was represented in the audience.

The chairman of the Rosario Argentine Socialist Party introduced Jen-

namese revolution and condemned U.S. imperialism.

That evening Jenness appeared for 30 minutes on the local TV station and overnight became a figure known to nearly everyone in town.

Jenness also had a meeting of 200 in Bahia Blanca, which attracted many older socialists.

Today Jenness flew back to Buenos Aires for an interview with reporters from the Italian and French press.

Protest set to defend Argentine prisoner

By FRAN COLLET

NEW YORK, May 29—Support is mounting for the campaign in defense of Casiana Ahumada. Ahumada, the editor of the Buenos Aires monthly *Cristianismo y Revolución*, was arrested in December 1971 and has been held incommunicado ever since. The charges against her stem solely from material critical of the Argentine military dictatorship that was published in the magazine and from her opposition to the harsh repression in Argentina.

Ahumada is currently being tried in a federal court in Buenos Aires. Sentencing is scheduled for June 7,

and she faces the possibility of four years in exile on a prison ship. Earlier reports that the sentencing had already taken place were erroneous.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has called a June 1 news conference in New York to publicize Ahumada's case and to express support for her. Participants will include Gloria Steinem, feminist author and editor; José Torres, writer for the *New York Post*; Thomas E. Quigley, associate director of the Division for Latin America of the United States Catholic Conference; the Reverend William L. Wipfler of the Latin Amer-

ican Section of the National Council of Churches; and Judy White, editor of the *USLA Reporter*.

A picket line in defense of Ahumada is scheduled for June 6 at the Argentine consulate in New York (12 West 56th St.) from noon to 2 p.m. Participating groups will include Clergy and Laymen Concerned, radical Catholic organizations, Puerto Rican student and political organizations, Latin American cultural groups, political organizations such as the Socialist Workers Party, and a number of defense committees for political prisoners.

The most recent news of a victory

against the barbaric treatment of political dissidents in Argentina appeared in the May 25 *New York Times*.

Norma Nubia Morello, a schoolteacher and rural organizer for a Catholic lay organization, was released after five months' imprisonment and torture. No charges were ever brought against her.

Morello's was released only after much public pressure was brought to bear on the Lanusse regime, including publicity in major Buenos Aires dailies and significant efforts by individuals in the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

In Our Opinion

...Nixon's trip

Continued from page 1

age further U.S. attacks on North Vietnam but increase the danger of attacks on China and the USSR as well. Such attacks could lead to nuclear war.

There is no question that the impact of Moscow's betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution is being felt in Communist parties around the world, including the CP in the United States.

And it can certainly be said that a betrayal of this magnitude is raising questions in the minds of many people in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union, where a significant opposition movement among intellectuals and students already exists.

But in spite of the criminal policies of Moscow and Peking, the U.S.-backed regime in Saigon is closer to defeat now than at any other time since the war began. This is due to the determination of the Vietnamese to continue their struggle, on the one hand, and to the international antiwar movement on the other.

The Vietnamese, fighting to end foreign domination and to win land reform and a little better life, are demonstrating the strength of a popular revolutionary movement. The antiwar movement has expressed its power by forcing Nixon to withdraw several hundred thousand U.S. troops.

One of the most inspiring and encouraging features of the antiwar protests this spring was their international scope. In Western Europe, the actions were the most significant in four years; in some countries like Sweden, the actions were the largest ever. There were huge actions in Mexico and Peru and widespread antiwar sentiment is reported throughout Latin America.

In the face of Washington's savage attack on Indochina and the betrayal of Moscow and Peking, it is doubly important to recognize the historic significance of the independent antiwar movement and to continue building that movement.

Coming antiwar actions include protests called by the Student Mobilization Committee at high school and college commencements, and local protests called for Aug. 6-9 by the National Peace Action Coalition to commemorate the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In addition, a national antiwar convention is scheduled for Los Angeles July 21-23 to discuss antiwar actions for the fall. A major effort should be made to turn out as many people as possible for all of these actions around the demand that the U.S. immediately withdraw all its forces and materiel from Indochina.

Significant actions

The May 27 African Liberation Day actions in the United States, Canada, and the Caribbean were highly successful and very significant. These actions mobilized tens of thousands of Black people in solidarity with the African liberation struggles and in opposition to the U.S. role in Africa.

They showed that growing numbers of Black people are becoming aware of the links between struggles against racist oppression in this hemisphere and such struggles elsewhere.

The May 27 actions put the spotlight on another area of the world where the U.S. government and U.S. business interests are deeply involved in denying oppressed peoples their right to determine their own destinies. Such actions expose the false claims of the Nixon administration, the corporations, and their apologists that the U.S. role in Africa benefits the masses of Africans. Facts are coming out about U.S. complicity with Portuguese tyranny in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique, as well as about U.S. support for the reactionary white settler regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia.

Opposition to the role of the U.S. in Africa has sharpened the consciousness of the need to actively oppose U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia. Nixon's escalation of the Vietnam war was vigorously denounced at the rallies. As a South African freedom fighter pointed out, Vietnam is the focal point of the world revolution today and to aid the struggle in Africa it is necessary to oppose U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The African Liberation Day organizers welcomed the support the actions received from a broad range of Black people—from Democratic Party politicians to Black nationalists and revolutionary socialists. This was partially reflected in the national steering committee of the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee, in local coalitions, and on the speaker's platforms. Organizers of future actions should draw on this example and seek ways to democratically involve even more Black activists in planning and coordinating these actions.

It is clear from the success of the May 27 actions that further actions can and should be organized to deepen the challenge to U.S. policies in Africa.

Letters

New blight spreads

This is to apprise your readers of the existence of a new blight that is spreading across the United States. To be forewarned is to be forearmed, so if it shows up in your town or neighborhood, don't just stand there aghast, do something.

The blight I refer to is plastic grass. And if you think that is just something they put in Houston's Astrodome because regular grass wouldn't grow there and on other football fields, you are wrong. Whatever outfit it is that produces the stuff has salesmen all over the country trying to drum up a market, and they've already got a number of cities and towns to put down strips of it to test out public reaction. Right now it's mostly in strips along highways, but mark my word, if they get away with it there, they'll be laying off gardeners in parks before long. There's no telling where it will end.

I first noticed it along Hawthorne Boulevard in a suburb of Los Angeles called Lawndale. I passed it off as a bad joke until I also noticed it on University Avenue in Berkeley, Calif., right off the turn-off from the Bay Bridge. But it really scared me when, on a recent visit to Washington, D.C., while strolling down a street lined with trees, azaleas, and lush bluegrass, I noticed one unbelievably regular lawn. Sure enough, it was plastic.

Now who the hell would do a thing like that? The house turned out to be the residence of the late J. Edgar Hoover, who had an obsession for keeping everything trimmed except the budget of the FBI.

I hardly know what else to say.
Fred Halstead
Chicago, Ill.

SWP Platform

I have been reading *The Militant* for five weeks now and continually look forward to it each Saturday. However, I still support McGovern. I do this reluctantly and only because he is better than Nixon. Nonetheless, I am still enclosing 25 cents for a McGovern Truth Kit. If it really "gets to me," I will send for more because I know other McGovern supporters.

I showed the Socialist Workers Party Platform (printed in the April 28 *Militant*) to my father. He called some of the statements irresponsible, and there is one I agree with him on.

The platform states, "A 100 percent tax on incomes above \$25,000 per year." I oppose this and here's why. If the maximum amount of money anybody could make was \$25,000, then no one would be spurred to make more. The economy would be ruined because there would be no balance of the amount of money distributed.

Many people become doctors not because they like the profession but because of the money and fringe benefits. But knowing they could only make \$25,000 would mean they would only work 10 weeks a year.

I am for the "no taxes under \$10,000" position because that would alleviate the burden of the poor. But the 100 percent tax is no good. It would mean one middle class. It's good to help the poor, but there could be no luxury. It is wrong to deprive anyone of comfort. No one could have yachts and such because there wouldn't be enough money. Being rich is only bad if, in the

course, the less fortunate are exploited. I think it would be more reasonable to say 100 percent tax over \$100,000 rather than \$25,000.

If by chance McGovern is elected, I will probably support the SWP campaign in 1976. McGovern is liberal. The country would move more to the left, and in '76, especially in 1980, the SWP would have a realistic chance of getting elected.

Aside from the afore-mentioned, I think *The Militant* is the best expression of the movement and the SWP is the best representation of the true voice of America.

Mark Olmsted
Mount Vernon, N. Y.

In reply—According to the 1971 Statistical Abstract, only 24.1 percent of males and 2.4 percent of females with incomes earned \$10,000 a year or more in 1969. The percentage of people who received more than \$25,000 would be much smaller. Thus a 100 percent tax on incomes over \$25,000 would affect only a small minority of the American people. Such a tax would make billions of dollars available to begin answering the needs of the people of this country—for medical care, pollution control, mass public transportation, better schools, child-care centers, etc.

The SWP believes that the right of the vast majority of people to a decent standard of living comes before the right of a small minority to live in luxury. The capitalist system is based on the right of the tiny number of capitalists to make profits by exploiting working people—who are the vast majority. Socialism is a system that puts the rights of working people—the majority—first.

If a tax on high incomes would "ruin" this capitalist economy, this only shows the need to reorganize the economy on the basis of cooperation and public ownership and control of industry—instead of on the basis of exploitation and competition for profits.

For the doctors who would quit if they couldn't get rich off people's miseries, there would be many more who would place dedication to their work above the desire for personal yachts and luxuries. Especially since one of the things such a tax could finance would be free university education for everyone.

A lot to do

After being affiliated with the Black Panther Party for over a year and speaking out against the system to help all oppressed people, I am now being incarcerated in the State Correctional Institution at Graterford, Pa. The district attorney said at the trial that I was in a shoot-out with the police on Aug. 30, 1970, when the police raided the Black Panther Party office and that I was a menace to society. It seems like anyone who does not go along with the system is a threat.

Black and oppressed people all over this country are being subjected to this same type of treatment. This system wants us to be like cattle going to the slaughter. Only to do as we are told and to think the way that they want us to think. But this will never be as long as there are oppressed people in the world.

In Philadelphia, Hitler Rizzo is asking for 1,500 more police to control the Black community. If Black people are not yet aware or hip to what Rizzo is trying to do, I say we

The Great Society

brothers and sisters with political knowledge or awareness have a lot of work to do.

Walter A. Williams
State Correctional Institution
Graterford, Pa.

Militant posters?

The *Militant* centerfold always contains a feature article. How good it would be to see a poster printed there! Sales would be spurred. Hundreds would be put on walls. Three years ago *The Militant* printed a poster of Malcolm X. How about a poster of an early feminist? An SWP campaign poster? A poster agitating for an antiwar demonstration? A series of posters?

Marty Rothman
Los Angeles, Calif.

Unemployed vets

The capitalist state certainly operates in a mire of cynical deception. The rulers first created the current "recession" to indirectly attack the workers' real income by creating a large industrial reserve army of unemployed to compete with those fortunate enough to remain employed. But now this army is beginning to pose a problem, primarily among the returning Vietnam-era veterans.

The Emergency Employment Act Funds—where I myself work in the administrative bureaucracy—has now been turned into a direct tool to undercut the growing militancy of unemployed Vietnam-era veterans. Less than four days after the explosion of tensions at the recent public-relations oriented job mart fair for returning vets in Chicago, the edict came down: EEA positions—at least in the main of three sections—are to be reserved for vets and vets alone.

The bourgeoisie worries about the effects the rapidly expanding radicalization of returning vets will have on an already disintegrating military, the organizational and training capacities they can carry into other radicalizing sectors, the potential they possess for drawing together the ranks of the unemployed, and the immediate effect they can have on the imperialists' designs in Southeast Asia.

The only answer to the EEA and its political overtones—designed as no more than a showpiece, a device to undercut the militancy of the unemployed—is to demand an immediate decrease in the hours worked by those presently employed, without any cut in pay, large enough to absorb the unemployed who wish to work.

A reader
Albany, N. Y.

Correction

I am sending a correction of something you printed in the May 21 issue of *The Militant*. On May 6, Abortion Action Day, in Philadelphia, you stated that "right-wing forces sent 75 people to heckle the speakers." In reality, only about 20 of these types were present. Because this is a rather large difference, perhaps you could print this correction.

Carol Lisker
Philadelphia, Pa.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

A model man—Paul du Feu, the British *Cosmopolitan* nude pinup whose previous principal claim to distinction was his marriage to Germaine Greer, takes a dim view of women's liberation. "Many of them don't know what they want," he said, "they just think that if those male chauvinist pigs would behave, life would be lovely." Maybe if they put a fig leaf over his mouth, he'd be lovely.

What would Adelle Davis say?—"It is doubtful that regular people-eating ever had much nutritional meaning." —The *American Anthropologist*.

Narrowing down the field—William Crowder, who trains dogs to sniff out bombs, sees their use as emotion detectors as an "intriguing possibility," though still "wild speculation." A dog that could detect fear, guilt, or anger in people, he says, might be able to point out potential skyjacks or bank robbers. Or even, possibly, people who live in a capitalist society.

All in favor say oink—Most Los Angeles Blacks like policemen and want more of them in their neighborhoods, according to a recent survey. The survey was conducted by the Los Angeles Police Department.

American time—The Pulsar, a solid-state job reportedly ten times as accurate as normal watches, discloses the time only when you press a button. Available at fine stores "while supply lasts," it's "very modestly priced at \$1,200." Pulsar, the manufacturer assures, "was conceived, designed, developed and is produced in the USA." We took that for granted.

It's expensive to be poor—Commenting on a report that at least 101 Californians with incomes over \$50,000 paid no state income tax last year, State Senator Mervyn Dymally (D-Los Angeles) said: "I find these figures very hard to explain to people in my district in Watts who make \$6,000 a year and pay both state and federal income tax."

Blond tobacco, we trust—Christie's of London auctioned off a box of cigars made especially for Nazi Air Minister Hermann Goering.

Judicious estimate—Two subcommittees on pollution recommended that Los Angeles county officials allocate funds for smog health research. "Limited evidence indicates air pollution over an extended period may be detri-

mental to health, the committees said," according to the *Los Angeles Times*.

Researchers at work—The American Medical Association, long the pacesetter in original research, studied some census figures and determined that poor people get sick more often than rich, and that health improves as income goes up. —HARRY RING



Stan Mack

Women: The Insurgent Majority

WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION recently came out with its eighth issue, entitled "The Power and Scope of the Women's Movement." One important question that several articles in this issue raise is how and if feminists should fight for reforms in the course of struggling for the complete liberation of women.

Claudia Leight and Linda Shopes, two *Women* staff members, contributed an article called "Working on Many Levels." The article purports to be an argument for women concentrating their efforts on "local organizing," as opposed to building national actions and campaigns. The main point the authors try to get across, however, is their rejection of the strategy of mass action.

Shopes and Leight quote from an article submitted to this issue of *Women* by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness. (Unfortunately the Jenness article was not printed.) Jenness says: "Through massive actions around specific issues . . . we are intervening in the politics of this country; we are forcing people to take notice of us and our demands; we are making



Photo by Brian Shannon

Mass demonstrations show the power of women united in action.

the movement visible . . . we are confronting and answering the prejudices and lies . . . that women are powerless and incapable of fighting for our rights." While they say they agree with her, Leight and Shopes spend the rest of their article trying to refute Jenness's points.

They argue that massive mobilizations against the war in Southeast Asia have been "ineffective" because they focus on one central demand—"Out Now!" Leight and Shopes warn that organizing mass actions around one central demand of the women's movement is also "ineffective" because "The single issue can be resolved, without significantly changing the condition of women in society."

Certainly no one reform will end the oppression of women. But wouldn't the repeal of all state anti-abortion laws "significantly change the condition of women," enabling many women to decide for themselves if they will

have children? Wouldn't winning equal pay for equal work represent a gain for the millions of working women in this country?

Winning reforms can pave the way for more fundamental changes. In the process of fighting around specific needs, women gain an understanding of the immense struggle it will take to eliminate all forms of sexual oppression. Every victory the feminist movement wins demonstrates that only by relying on our own power can we bring about change.

But Leight and Shopes show their disdain for the many women who enter the movement for the first time on a demonstration. They say that these women are simply manipulated by "male-dominated" groups and falsely charge that the SWP in particular seeks to use mass actions to further some unspecified ulterior motive. They offer no evidence for these red-baiting charges, which they substitute for a real discussion of their differences with the strategy of mass action.

The pessimistic tone of this article—which reveals the authors' lack of confidence in the potential of masses of women to struggle for their liberation—contrasts sharply with another article in *Women*, entitled "Action Committee for Decent Childcare: Organizing for Power." Written by Day Creamer and Heather Booth, this article defends the need for mass actions fighting for specific demands and shows how such actions can advance the movement as a whole. The authors write, "In many places the word reform is associated with cooptation—if you win, you must be doing something wrong, or what you are fighting for must be 'counterrevolutionary.'" Creamer and Booth reject this concept, pointing out that "in the struggle for concrete victories women will gain both a sense of our power and the meaning of power in society." The article goes on to describe how the Action Committee for Decent Childcare successfully used demonstrations and public tribunals to dramatize the problem of child care in Chicago and to put the city government on the spot.

The near success of the recent right-wing campaign in New York to overthrow the liberalized state abortion law shows precisely how crucial the fight for reforms is and how women must stand ready to defend every gain that is won. The opponents of women's right to abortion applied the same tactic—mass action—that feminists used in 1970 to win the present New York abortion law. The anti-abortion forces organized a large demonstration around the demand of ending legal abortions, and this action clearly had a powerful impact on the New York state legislature.

In the future the feminist movement will organize masses of women in action to win not just the repeal of anti-abortion laws but decent child-care facilities, equal pay, equal education, and the other rights denied women.

—CINDY JAQUITH

Quebecois nationalism fueled workers' revolt

The following analysis of the May upsurge of Quebec workers is based on an article scheduled to appear in *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Canada.

By DICK FIDLER

TORONTO—The massive strike upsurge of the Québec workers did not achieve its immediate aims: amnesty for the imprisoned labor leaders and repeal of the Bourassa government's strikebreaking Bill 19.

But the strike of over 100,000 workers, which lasted over a week, by no means ended in defeat. It forced the Liberal government to negotiate with the 210,000 workers in the public and related sectors, foregoing the use of Bill 19, which empowered Premier Robert Bourassa to impose a settlement by June 1. The strike forced the replacement of the Civil Service minister to make way for concessions by the government.

Above all, the upsurge was a magnificent demonstration of Québec labor's collective strength, its readiness to take militant action in defense of its interests.

It was the biggest spontaneous labor upsurge of this character in Canadian history—snowballing across Québec from the North Coast St. Lawrence mining port of Sept-Îles to the modern industrial parks at Saint-Jérôme; from the huge asbestos exploitations at Thetford Mines (portrayed in the film *Mon Oncle Antoine*), to the pulp and paper plants of Abitibi in the Northwest.

In April, the 11-day general strike of public service workers had revealed the fighting militancy of these new layers of Québec labor. And in the May upsurge the teachers, nurses, hospital workers, municipal employees, and other public-sector workers were prominent once again. But with them, and playing a leading role, were the private-sector workers in heavy industry—construction, steel, and shipyard workers, auto workers and miners. Many of them are members of "international" unions affiliated to the Canadian Labor Congress and the Québec Federation of Labor (Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec—FTQ). All were violating their contracts, which forbid sympathy strikes for political reasons.

The strike wave found its highest expression in the "peripheral" towns and cities outside Montréal, the financial and commercial center of the Québec nation. In these towns, usually dominated by a few big foreign-owned industries with English-speaking managers, the class struggle is sharp and bitter.

Some of the dozen or so towns and cities taken over by the strikers read like a "Who's Who" of Québec's historic labor struggles: Asbestos (Thetford Mines), Gaspé (Copper Mines), Sorel, Sept-Îles. Workers in the key industries quickly spread the strike throughout the surrounding regions, taking over radio stations, sending out flying squads to shut down the big commercial establishments, maintaining order under the control of local trade unions grouped together in "common fronts" thrown up in the course of the struggle. The local police forces were immobilized, in some cases for days. The towns were effectively ruled by strike committees.

More than a strike

This was more than a strike, or even a multiplicity of local strikes. It was a vast national outpouring of the Québécois—manifested in the rapid spread of the walkouts across



'Quebec for the Quebecois.' July 1971 demonstration for independence was part of nationalist ferment that led to general strike.

the province and the wide public sympathy for the strikers from other layers of the population. Support came from such unlikely elements as the reporters of the French-language newspapers and Radio-Canada, who staged 24-hour sympathy strikes; and the provincial father-superior of the Frères des Ecoles Chrésiennes (Christian Teaching Brothers), who issued a pastoral letter.

By their actions, the strikers challenged some key institutions of their oppression. The takeovers of radio and television stations reflected the deeply felt consciousness that the media is in the hands of forces hostile to the majority of the Québécois. Such tactics come more naturally in a nation where striking reporters at the largest daily newspaper have twice in the last decade published daily strike newspapers, and where the trade-union movement published a popular labor/nationalist tabloid weekly, *Québec-Presse*.

Another favorite target was the big commercial chain stores, with their inflated prices that exploit workers' families and tie up their credit in the company towns.

The upsurge was sparked by protests against a judge's jailing of prominent labor leaders. The courts are widely regarded by the Québécois as nothing more than instruments of the party in power.

As the revolt became generalized, each group of workers raised its own grievances: the Montréal longshoremen, violations of their new contract by the bosses; the Montréal civil workers, their failure to win an agreement with the city after months of negotiations and the breaking of an earlier strike by an injunction; the hospital workers at the Albert Prévost Institute, an obstinate administration that has rejected workers' demands for a share in running the institute. The longshoremen and civil workers are still on strike; at Albert Prévost, the riot squad invaded and ejected

the strikers who were occupying the hospital and administering it under workers' self-management.

The struggle of various sectors merged with others. Students in a number of Montréal high schools and junior colleges mobilized against government attempts to extend the school year because of the teachers' strike. The students' struggle, a *La Presse* reporter observed, brought forward "fairly pronounced aspirations for self-management (autogestion) . . . or, more precisely, the takeover of the institutions by the students, the teachers, and support staff."

So many issues were raised in the course of the strike upsurge that the editors of one Montréal daily complained they couldn't tell what people were striking for any more! And far from being "manipulated by goon squads," as Bourassa alleged, the strikers' innovative tactics underscored the spontaneous nature of their revolt.

'Quebec is a nation'

Even bourgeois commentators in English Canada could not overlook the obvious significance of this upsurge. *Toronto Star* columnist Dennis Braithwaite, hardly a radical, put it this way: "Nowhere else in Canada could such events occur. Even during the most violent demonstrations of the depression, the relief camp riots and the 'March on Ottawa' from the West, there was never any question of workers' leaders seizing control of radio stations, shutting down metropolitan newspapers or launching a massive propaganda campaign demanding the overthrow of the capitalist system. . . . Québec, let us face the fact, is a nation."

As Québécois workers organize, they become more nationalist. The urbanization and proletarianization of the last 30 years have brought the Québécois face to face with the "English fact"—the foreign control of Québec. They are fighting back; and their revolt has a radical, anticapitalist thrust to it.

The strike wave revealed anew the instability of the Bourassa Liberal government—faced at the height of the upsurge with the proffered resignations of two more ministers and the rumored impending resignations of two more, all of them said to be moving toward the independentist Parti Québécois. These resignations raised in the sharpest way the question of whether the Québec government, lacking the powers of a national state in its own right, could cope with the challenge posed by this working-class revolt.

Prime Minister Trudeau, for his part, tried to turn the argument the other way: the Québécois, he told a *Toronto Star* reporter, should be thankful they have a strong government in Ottawa! Yet Ottawa was clearly reluctant to intervene with its "strong government" as it did in the fall of 1970. This time, it was up against thousands upon thousands of mobilized workers, not a population demobilized and demoralized by terrorist kidnappings.

The bourgeoisie, of course, is taking steps to meet the problem of its lessened maneuverability in Québec. As the strikes began to lose their momentum businessmen began to form vigilante squads ("citizen committees") in occupied towns. It was revealed that the president of the Québec Liberal Party had sent telegrams to Liberal riding (electoral district) association presidents throughout the province at the height of the crisis, urging them to initiate these strikebreaking bodies by forming "political-action committees."

In several towns, local reactionaries were deputized and put under the command of the police forces. In Sept-Îles, which is dominated by a few big U.S.-owned corporations, the Chamber of Commerce President Jean Girard formed the Comité des Citoyens Respectueux de la Loi et de L'Ordre (Citizens Committee for the Respect of Law and Order). "We had to get

back our only means of communication, our radio station," he told a *Globe and Mail* reporter.

"But we're not going to end here. Before the end of the week we'll have set up a permanent vigilance committee," he said.

Trade-union militants have charged that the Liberal Party is working within the Confederation of National Trade Unions (Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux—CSN) to provoke and deepen a split that has emerged in the CSN. This is a further ominous indication that the bourgeoisie is actively mobilizing within the workers' organizations to combat the spread of nationalist and left-wing ideas.

Advisers and mediators

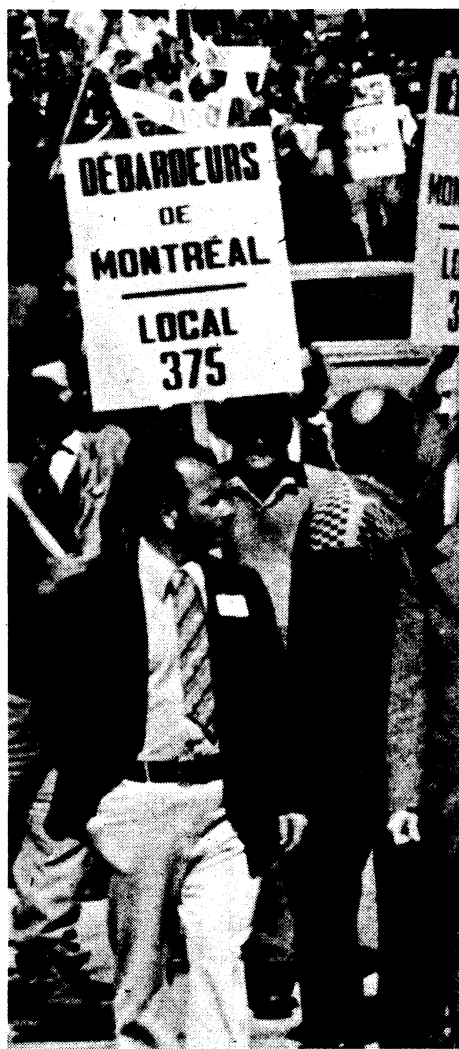
The strike upsurge also confirmed the hardening of the Parti Québécois as the alternative party of "law and order" in Québec. The PQ resisted demands that it solidarize with the workers' demands for repeal of Bill 19 and amnesty for the imprisoned labor leaders. Its leadership cast itself in the role of advisers to the Bourassa government, warning of the danger of "anarchy" and counseling Bourassa to seek a settlement with the public workers by offering yearly wage increases of 6 percent (the unions were demanding 8 percent).

Despite these rotten positions, however, the PQ has emerged from the recent labor struggles stronger than ever. Its fund drive for \$300,000 in March netted more than twice the objective—\$632,000. Its membership has doubled to 66,000 since the fall. Opinion polls indicate it is gaining support from the other parties, especially the ruling Liberals, who are slipping seriously.

Far from contradicting the radicalization of Québec workers, this rise in support for the PQ, a bourgeois party, simply confirms the *nationalist* character of the workers' struggle. It is precisely because the PQ is independentist that the majority of Québécois do not see it as a bourgeois, reactionary party. And because the recent strike wave served to strengthen and deepen nationalist consciousness among Québécois workers, the PQ—in the absence of a mass labor-based political party—was bound to be the principal beneficiary.

But if the PQ's hostility to the labor movement is to be expected, given the party's class nature, what is to be said about the scandalous statements of the leaderships of the New Democratic Party and the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC), AFL-CIO, during the Québec upsurge?

NDP leader David Lewis's attack on the judge's ruling against the la-



bor leaders was well-publicized in English Canada. But Lewis's statement, too, was in no way motivated by solidarity with the labor upsurge. He was simply advising the ruling class not to use the courts to control the labor movement. Asked to amplify his remarks, Lewis told Toronto high school students that if he were the judge he would have given the union leaders not one year, but 30-day sentences!

The CLC convention voted solidarity with the immediate demands of Québec labor. But far from mobilizing solidarity actions in the English-Canadian labor movement, the CLC leadership appealed for calm in Québec unions by urging resumption of negotiations before the freeing of the labor leaders, and warned repeatedly of the "dangers" of "general strike," "demagogues," and "revolution" in Québec. Instead of expressing solidarity with Québec labor, CLC President Donald McDonald offered to act as an *intermediary* between the unions and the Québec government!

Released from jail May 23, the labor leaders vowed to fight the Bourassa government "to the finish." While the "May crisis"—as it is now known—fell short of posing workers' power at the governmental level, it was a portent of the big struggles that are coming in Québec.

Quebec strikers took over mining city

The following report is based on an article scheduled to appear in *Labor Challenge*.

By ART YOUNG

SEPT-ILES, Québec, May 29—Sept-Iles is a small city of 20,000 scraped out of the rock and sand. Located on the north bank of the St. Lawrence River more than 500 miles northeast of Montréal, it is an important transfer point for raw minerals. Today the city symbolizes the massive revolt of Québec labor against the jailing of its three top leaders.

Québec's national exploitation is seen graphically in Sept-Iles, with its very thin layer of English families, who live in the most luxurious part of the city. They are the top administrators of the mining companies whose owners live far away in Toronto or New York. Close to 100 percent of the workers are French, but the companies are English right down to the smallest detail.

Since the early sixties, this mixture of heavy proletarian composition, a high degree of unionization, and ever-present national exploitation has made Sept-Iles a center of nationalist agitation.

For two days in May the workers controlled this city. All work stopped. All stores were closed except those the strikers permitted to stay open. The city was effectively sealed off—barricades went up on the main road, the airport was shut, and telephone lines were jammed. The mayor and city council were powerless.

One of the first moves the strikers made was to seize the radio station and to begin spreading news of the general strike. Within a few days, striking workers occupied some 18 TV and radio stations across Québec.

The rest of the North Shore was soon shut down by a general strike. With massive walkouts already begun, the news of the events in Sept-Iles had an electric effect throughout Québec.

"A number of us had been in Québec City May 9 to accompany [the three union heads] Pepin, Charbonneau, and Laberge to jail. We returned Tuesday evening in time to participate in a large gathering outside the [Sept-Iles] courthouse," Valmore Tremblay told me. Tremblay is a staff representative of the International Association of Machinists [Québec Federation of Labor] and a leader of the inter-union coordinating body, Le Front

Commun. "A number of speakers called for a general strike the next morning, but toward the end of the rally the police attacked us. There were a number of arrests, and many were injured."

The police assault only added to the workers' anger. "If they can throw Louis [Laberge] in jail like a criminal, then they can do it to any one of us," said one unionist, a stocky construction worker on the verge of tears.

Bruno Girouard, the staff representative of the CSN (Confederation of National Trade Unions) National Construction Union described what happened next: "The next morning [May 10] the whole town was shut down. The mines, the factories, the schools, the offices, the construction sites, everything. The strikers moved down the streets from store to store, requesting that they be closed. And their demands were met. There were few incidents. All chain stores were closed, but the corner groceries and other essential services were allowed to stay open.

"Meanwhile, a group of strikers took over the radio station at about 10 a.m. The regular programs remained, but the strikers occupied the station to ensure that all the statements of the strike movement were broadcast. In a town like ours, the radio is the vital means of communication—we have no daily paper and our only TV comes from across the St. Lawrence River from Matane.

"At about the same time, another flying squad of workers seized trucks and buses to build barricades across the only highway into town. They closed the airport and jammed the phone lines for a few hours. The whole place was sealed off from the outside."

The barricades were intended primarily as a symbol that the town was under workers' control, unionists told me. It was also hoped that they would impede the arrival of police reinforcements. In fact, there are only about 45 police in the Sept-Iles force. Brave in their attack against the demonstrators Tuesday night, May 9, they had virtually disappeared from sight by Wednesday.

Nominally, the strike movement was led by the Front Commun, but in reality the movement was largely spontaneous. During the decisive events of Wednesday and Thursday, May 10-11, when the movement attained its

summit, "the Front Commun was overwhelmed; our slogans were not listened to," stated Tremblay.

The strikers were able to show the population that the city was under their control. This produced a rude shock among the businessmen, who for several hours at least, felt themselves at the mercy of the workers, as the *Toronto Globe and Mail* remarked. It must have been quite a shock indeed for these capitalist barons, so used to controlling everything they surveyed.

The bosses' panic led to a grave provocation. During a public rally May 10, a Liberal Party activist and a partisan of the bosses drove his car into the crowd. More than 20 were injured, many seriously; a few days later, Hermain St. Gelais, a 22-year-old lab technician, died from his injuries.

The next morning, tempers were short at the mass rally of 5,000, which is almost half the adult population. The strike continued. It was further decided to demand that the town council support the movement. That evening the workers invaded city hall and forced the holding of an emergency council meeting. The mayor and council had little choice but to comply.



In a hall overflowing with strikers and their supporters, they agreed to demand that Québec Premier Robert Bourassa withdraw Bill 19, which broke the civil-service strike, and Bill 15, earlier legislation against construction workers; and that he free all arrested union leaders. It was agreed that the Front Commun would have full access to the radio station, as

would any other movement that wanted to use it.

The mayor appealed for all stores to close "in order to avoid useless and regrettable spilling of blood." The unions and council agreed, however, that drugstores, the hospital, credit unions, banks, and gas stations would remain open. In the hands of the workers, the town remained relatively tranquil and orderly.

But in the meantime, the Québec government had rushed several hundred provincial police to the town, using Canadian army aircraft. They commandeered bulldozers to smash down the barricades, allowing further police reinforcements to arrive.

On Friday, May 12, *La Presse* reported, there were about 600 cops in the area. They were not idle. Strikers were evicted from the radio station. Known union militants were repeatedly searched and arrested on the main street. More than 100 arrests of unionists and their supporters on minor charges were made over the weekend.

Thus reinforced, the bosses took the initiative. The mayor reneged on his promises, met with the Chamber of Commerce, took to the radio to blast the unions, and called on shops to open their doors. Some did on Saturday.

The sports palace, which had been used up until then by the Front Commun for mass meetings of up to 5,000 people, was closed by the city. The workers had no other halls holding more than 400 people. Without the radio or meeting halls, they were gagged and could not reply to the bosses' offensive. Five hundred of the town's upper crust gathered in a plush hotel, where they heard the major companies announce they would reopen Monday morning.

In fact, that morning a large number of workers returned to work and by Wednesday, May 17, the Front Commun issued a back-to-work call. Given the spontaneous nature of the strike and the lack of clear national perspectives or even of strike funds, the return to work is not surprising.

The mood of those returning was hardly one of defeat. I attended the last meeting of the Front Commun on May 17. While recognizing that a return was necessary, the strikers felt that something had been won. "We are not beaten," was the cry.

Mine union dissidents hold convention

By CALVIN GODDARD

WHEELING, W. Va., May 28 — About 500 dissident members of the United Mine Workers met here May 27-28 to choose candidates to oppose the present UMW bureaucracy headed by W. A. (Tony) Boyle.

The convention was called by the Miners for Democracy, formed in April 1970 by those who had supported Joseph (Jock) Yablonski. Yablonski was murdered in December 1969—three weeks after his unsuccessful bid for the UMW presidency. (Seven people, including three UMW officials, are under indictment in the killing of Yablonski and his wife and daughter. Funds used to pay the alleged assassins have been traced to UMW headquarters.)

Participants included members of various rank-and-file groups that have sprung up in recent years, struggling for demands ignored or opposed by the UMW officials. Fifteen of the union's 24 districts were represented at the convention, which was open to all UMW members. The average age of those present appeared to be around 40.



Photo from Miner's Voice

Henry Patrick, vice-chairman of Miners for Democracy, favors UMW participation in the antiwar movement.

The MFD steering committee called the convention in the wake of a May 1 federal court decision invalidating the 1969 election. The grounds for the invalidation were that UMW officials had engaged in massive vote fraud, intimidation, and illegal use of union funds. This was followed by two other court rulings that called for autonomy in eight UMW districts. This now allows more than a third of the union's membership to elect district officers. (All but five districts are "trusteeships" under the direct control of the international union.) New elections may be ordered for December.

Although a platform was unanimously adopted by the delegates, the selection of candidates able to defeat the UMW "establishment" was declared the "paramount job" of the delegates by MFD Chairman Mike Trbovich. Trbovich, 51, was narrowly defeated for nomination as union president by Arnold Miller, 49, Yablonski's District 17 campaign chairman, who heads the West Virginia Black Lung Association. Trbovich was chosen to run for vice-president. Henry Patrick, MFD vice-chairman, was selected to run for secretary-treasurer.

Boyle may seek reelection, although he will be prevented from holding office if his recent conviction under the Corrupt Practices Act is upheld. In any case, the Boyle machine is sure to field a full slate.

The 34-point MFD platform denounced the "production-oriented union bureaucrats" and pointed out that "the mechanization of the mines in the 1950s not only cost the jobs of more than half our union brothers, but also caused health and safety conditions to worsen."

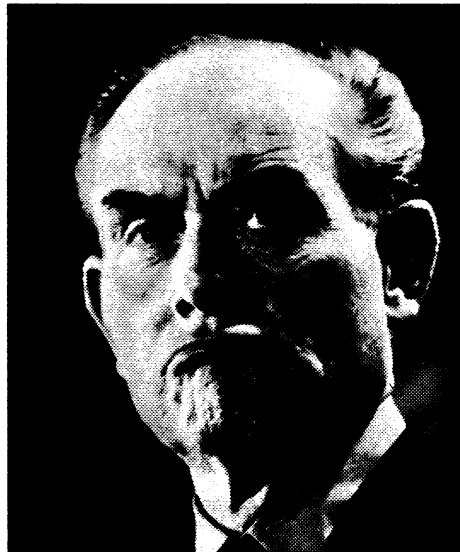
The platform's health and safety proposals include more power to mine safety committees, a UMW division to monitor enforcement of federal dust-level and safety laws, and a six-hour day with one of four shifts devoted to safety maintenance.

One plank says that a miner who becomes totally disabled should be

eligible for his pension immediately. It would also permit a miner to keep his hospital welfare card beyond the present limit of one to four years. To reform the union, the platform calls for a reduction in the salaries of top union officials, an end to full-salary retirement with union payroll-ers receiving the same pension as miners, mandatory retirement of officers at age 65, and moving the UMW headquarters from Washington, D. C., to the coal fields. Full autonomy for all UMW districts was also demanded.

Two delegates asked why rank-and-file contract ratification was not included. The chair replied that this would be added to the final draft.

Robert Payne, president of the Disabled Miners, Widows and Orphans of Southern Western Virginia, was honored by the convention for leading the wildcat mine strike in June 1970. In that strike, 65,000 miners walked



UMW President W. A. (Tony) Boyle

out in protest of the UMW's failure to provide its members with decent medical and pension benefits.

Payne, a Black, 48-year-old disabled miner, spent two weeks in jail for his role in this "illegal" strike and still faces a trumped-up federal charge of "perjury." Payne told *The Militant* his acquittal is almost certain, since his victimization could result in further wildcats. "It has taken us two

years of hard work to win the full confidence of the active miners," he said. "If we say the word, the miners will go out."

MFD lawyers are asking the Labor Department to monitor the upcoming UMW elections. They are also seeking FBI protection for MFD candidates. In interviews with this reporter, however, rank and filers expressed little faith in federal protection.

Patrick was quoted in a recent *Miner's Voice*, the MFD's publication, as saying that the UMW "should be the leader in the fight against wars like the one in Vietnam that's taken the lives of our sons and relatives and fellow workers." Patrick told *The Militant* that the MFD slate will take a position for total, immediate withdrawal of U. S. forces from Indochina in contrast to the prowar position of present UMW officials.

An unfortunate incident of red-baiting marred the convention. Convention chairman Karl Kafton announced the first day that people selling "literature with a red taint on it" outside the hall at Wheeling College had been ordered off the campus by county police acting on behalf of convention officials.

It was learned that those forced to leave had been selling *The Bulletin*, a paper published by a sectarian group called the Workers League. Kafton then warned that anyone seen distributing the *Daily World*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party, would also be removed from the convention site.

Although there was some applause for Kafton's red-baiting, many delegates expressed their disapproval of these undemocratic actions in interviews with this reporter. "Miners should be allowed to read what they want and think for themselves," one delegate said.

Speakers at the convention included Yablonski's two sons, Kenneth and Joseph, who serve as the MFD's lawyers; Representative Ken Heckler (D-W. Va.); and Joseph Rauh Jr., a Washington lawyer and prominent Democrat active in MFD litigation.

Union threatened in Calif. beverage strike

By MATT JEFFRIES

OAKLAND, Calif., May 30 — The five-month old Bay Area soft drink strike entered a critical stage last week. The strike involves six Teamster locals and 1,300 drivers and bottlers. For the first time, the Food Employers Council (FEC), mouthpiece of the beverage industry, openly threatened to smash the striking union.

The companies informed all strikers that their jobs "were available." Teamsters who refused to cross their own picket lines to take their jobs would be replaced by scabs.

Telegrams were also sent to all local unions stating that "In those cases where a defensive lockout was necessary, the lockout is being terminated."

The pretext for these actions was brazenly stated by John Bacon, vice-president of the FEC and spokesman for the beverage industry. He charged that the unions had refused to submit all outstanding issues to mediation, and binding arbitration if necessary.

But conservative Teamster officials had agreed at least one month ago to bend to the employers on this vital question. The sole exception they made was on the Teamster demand for amnesty. The union officials agreed to submit all other outstanding issues to arbitration without a vote of the ranks.

Most strikers feel that this concession alone represents a major defeat for beverage workers. They have no illusions that they can win in arbitration what they couldn't win on the picket line.

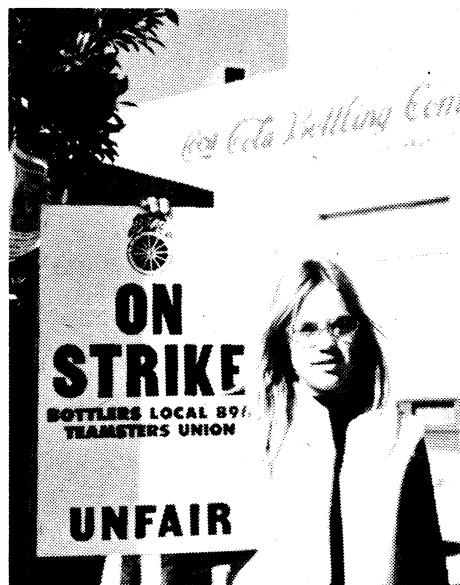


Photo by Diana diIulio

However, the employers are not content with forcing the union to accept a humiliating setback on economic and job-security issues. They are now seeking to divide and demoralize the ranks by refusing to rehire those strikers they claim have been "implicated in illegal action."

The strike has been marked from

the beginning by vicious antiunion action on the part of the employers and the courts. Workers have been faced with injunctions; heavy fines; private cops armed with clubs, guns, and police dogs; the hiring of strike breakers; and the widespread use of scab beverages brought in from outside the Bay Area.

To date, top officials of the Teamster international union have refused aid to the striking Northern California locals. They have denied strike sanctions to Southern California Teamsters in the soft drink industry currently working without a contract. Taking advantage of this major weakness, the companies have flooded the Bay Area with beverages produced by Los Angeles Teamster bottlers, who are members of the same statewide local as the Bay Area strikers.

Despite the refusal of the Teamster local officials to stand up to the treachery of the international, the union rank and file has remained surprisingly solid.

In response to this latest employer threat, rank-and-file Teamsters proposed, and local officials agreed to, an unprecedented meeting of all six striking locals on May 24. The meeting was attended by more than 400 strikers, mostly from the two largest locals. It was conducted by rank-and-file militants. Floor mikes were open to all proposals for action. The meet-

ing began with a unanimous vote to reject any settlement that did not provide amnesty for all strikers.

Several speakers referred to the need for a general Teamsters strike and were met with thunderous applause. A motion was unanimously passed to set up a general strike committee consisting of all shop stewards and a number of strike committee leaders. This committee was to explore ways of carrying out a general strike of Teamsters.

While the ranks are eager for action, local officials clearly have no such thoughts in mind. At almost every opportunity, including a so-called "chance appearance" at the May 24 meeting, local officials have taken steps to limit and discourage militant strike activity.

So far the general strike committee has not taken steps toward organizing such a strike. At this time its members are convinced that no such strike action is possible without the support and sanction of the international.

Last week, four of the smaller locals reflected the first signs of demoralization when they signed a memorandum agreeing to end the strike on terms that represent a clear defeat.

Although the ranks have made important progress in understanding the reason for the strike's weakness, it does not appear that they will be able to prevent a victory for the employers in this particular conflict.

5 from radical collective join YSA, reject YWLL

By FRED MURPHY

BLOOMINGTON, Ind.—The main groups vying for the allegiance of radicalizing youth in this country are the Young Socialist Alliance, which is in political solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Workers Liberation League, an organization that shares the political outlook of the Communist Party.

Recently five members of the East

Angela Davis Defense Committee.

The YSA's activity in the movements against the war, for self-determination for Black people and La Raza, and for women's liberation impressed the members of the collective.

Barbara Webster commented on the importance of these independent struggles: "Some groups on the left, in particular the YWLL, seem to think that the women's movement, the gay move-

"We were in a collective with lots of different kinds of people. There were a few YWLLers in the collective, and I began to have a lot of disagreements with them, especially over sexism. I began to see that I really agreed with the YSA position.

"I went to the May 6 WONAAC demonstration in Chicago, and while there Barb and David went to the YWLL convention. They came back with some reports that pretty much made my decision for me, especially the YWLL's positions on women and gay people. When they were confronted with this in various ways at the convention, the leadership tried to cover it up by saying they didn't want to divide the convention. I could see that the YWLL was not a group I could work in. I saw that in the YSA if I had any disagreements there was ample opportunity to discuss and resolve them."

The YSA supports the Socialist Workers Party's campaigns and the nature of those campaigns impressed both Martin and Webster. They contrasted the SWP's electoral strategy with that of the Communist Party.

"The SWP," said Webster, "is trying to educate people about socialism and build an alternative to the ruling-class party, while the CP election strategy is a contradiction. It doesn't make any sense to run an alternative to the ruling-class parties and then support a 'progressive' element of the ruling class at the same time. At the YWLL convention, I couldn't tell if the YWLL supported Hall and Tyner or George McGovern."

Martin added, "The Hall-Tyner campaign rally at the YWLL convention was just terrible. They were throwing out what was essentially ultraleft sloganeering, 'We are the Communists,' 'Support the Communists,' and so forth. Everything but red flags and hammers and sickles. But when they got to the essential points, it became clear that they were essentially making speeches for George McGovern. They were attacking Nixon, they were attacking Wallace, but treading very lightly on the liberal Democrats. I really don't see why they bothered to run a campaign anyway."

Webster summed up the group's feelings about joining the YSA. "The reason I decided to join the YSA," she said, "is that I could be the most effective in building the antiwar movement, the women's movement, and making a socialist revolution in this country by joining the radical organization I most agreed with."

When asked if he would encourage other people to join the YSA, Ike Nahem stated, "Definitely. From my experience from being in various collectives, from reformist to ultraleft, I can say that they're all dead ends. A sincere revolutionary has to be in an organized group with a coherent program."

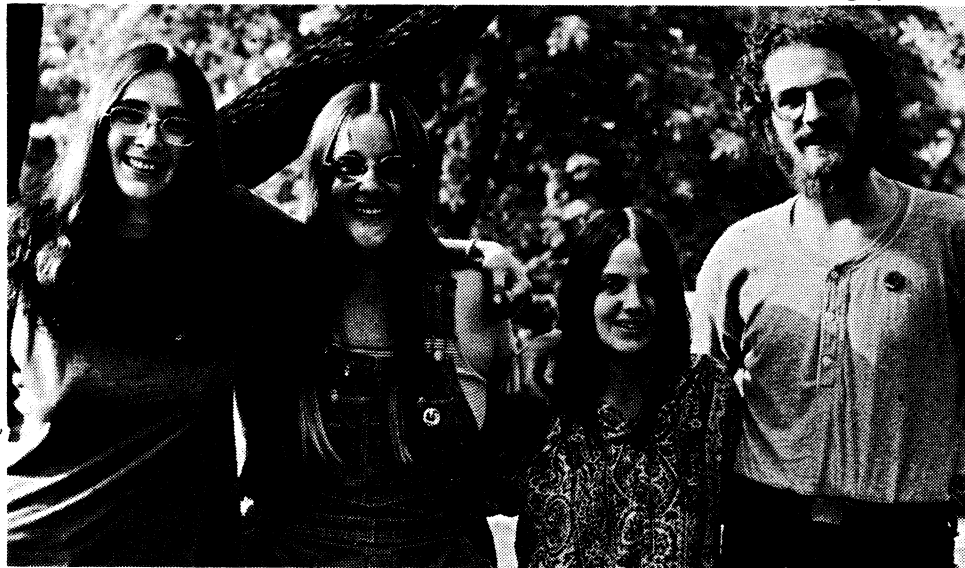


Photo by Bruce Bloy

Four of the five members of Bloomington, Ind., collective who joined Young Socialist Alliance. Left to right: Barbara Webster, Sandi Sherman, Paula Westfall, and David Martin.

Bloomington Labor Library, a radical collective here, decided to join the YSA. All five had experience working with both the YSA and YWLL. Two of the group attended the YWLL national convention in Chicago just prior to joining the YSA. The key reason they gave for joining the YSA was the YSA's active role in building the antiwar, women's liberation, and other independent movements. They also cited the YSA's democratic decision-making process and its unity in action.

The five who joined the YSA were:

Barbara Webster—an activist who worked on both antiwar and pro-abortion activities in the spring of 1971. She has belonged to several radical collectives at the Bloomington campus of Indiana University (IU).

David Martin—a leading activist at IU who first became interested in politics as a high school supporter of the Socialist Workers Party 1968 presidential election campaign of Halstead and Boutelle. He was a member of several new-left formations, including the United Student Movement, which ran a successful student-government election campaign at IU in the spring of 1970. He became interested in the YSA and YWLL after studying the writings of Marx and Lenin.

Sandi Sherman—an antiwar activist who participated in the 1970 student strike in Bloomington and in the 1971 Mayday actions in Washington, D.C. She has been active in the gay liberation movement at IU.

Ike Nahem—originally became involved in radical politics while a high school student in Cincinnati, Ohio. Nahem worked there with a group of Black students fighting for student rights. Since attending IU, Nahem has been active in the antiwar movement and chaired the Student Mobilization Committee in 1971. [Regular readers of *The Militant* may remember reading in the Feb. 25 issue a letter from Nahem critical of our analysis on China and a reply by Tony Thomas, "Why Peking supports peaceful coexistence."]

Paula Westfall—a former pacifist and a Yippie, Westfall worked on the People's Peace Treaty last spring. Earlier this year she was active in the

ment, and an independent Black movement divide the left or divide the working class. I don't think so. I think it's sexism and racism that divide the working class and the left. I think the only way that sexism and racism can effectively be dealt with is for people who are oppressed by sexism and racism to build their own movements to struggle against them."

The collective played a major role in building antiwar actions on the Bloomington campus and worked extensively on the April 24, 1971, antiwar march on Washington, D.C., and the Mayday actions that occurred a week later. *The Militant* asked them how they felt in retrospect about Mayday's approach to the antiwar movement.

"It didn't seem to be oriented toward building a mass movement, toward involving in action all the people who are against the war," commented Webster.

"It was fun, and I got arrested," Sherman added. "But after 36 hours in jail I began to think it wasn't so far-out and that it was really absurd. I see now that it wasn't really productive. In fact, it may have been counterproductive."

The disorganization and lack of political clarity within the groups and collectives they had been involved in convinced the five to join a national organization.

"I was instinctively against the anti-organizational bias of the new left," Dave Martin said, "but I wasn't sure why. I began to study Marx and began to take politics seriously. I began to see Marxism as scientific. As soon as I did those things, I had to come to grips with the whole question of Leninism. It became clear when I studied history that a Leninist party was necessary in this country. When I began to seriously consider a Leninist organization, I found that I needed the experience and guidance of a national organization."

During the fall and spring of the past year, the collective was active in the antiwar movement and continued to discuss joining a national organization. Sherman explained how developments in the collective and experiences with the YWLL convinced her to join the YSA.

Socialist summer schools opening

By LEE SMITH

As campuses and high schools close down for the summer, hundreds of student activists across the country are registering for Socialist Summer School. Twenty schools are being organized in 18 cities by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

Many Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and other activists who have recently become interested in socialist ideas as a result of the SWP 1972 election campaign are expected to attend these schools. The programs will end with a week-long Socialist Activists and Educational Conference.

The subjects to be studied include: The United Front versus the Popular Front; the Transitional Program; Revolutionary-Socialist Electoral Policy; The Origins and Nature of Stalinism; Revolutionary Strategy in the Labor Movement; and Principles of Leninist Party Organization.

In addition to New York, where there will be three schools, the following cities will have summer schools: Atlanta, Austin, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, Oakland, Philadelphia, Portland, San Diego, San Francisco, Seattle, Minneapolis, and Washington, D.C.

Lectures by local socialist leaders will be supplemented by national speakers. Among the national summer school speakers will be *Militant* staff writers Dick Roberts, Frank Lovell, Tony Thomas, Derrick Morrison, Dave Frankel, Cindy Jaquith, and Dan Rosenshine; Fred Feldman, associate editor of the *International Socialist Review*; Harry Ring, head of *The Militant's* Southwest Bureau; Susan Lamont, former national chairwomen of the Young Socialist Alliance; Fred Halstead, 1968 SWP candidate for president; Dan Styron, SWP organizer in Los Angeles; and Lynn Henderson, SWP National Committee member.

For further information, contact the YSA or SWP nearest you (see page 22 for the socialist directory).

Some cities held spring socialist educational weekends to prepare for launching the summer schools. More than 75 persons attended the Socialist Activists Conference May 19 and 20 at the University of Washington in Seattle. Speakers at the conference included SWP 1972 National Campaign Chairman Peter Camejo, who spoke on "How to Make a Revolution"; Ken Milner, SWP congressional candidate in California, who spoke on the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind., last March; Helen Myers, who spoke on "Is Biology Women's Destiny?"; and Lisa Potash, who spoke on "How Students Can Help Change Society."

Five people asked to join the YSA after attending the Seattle conference.

Close to 250 people turned out for the Northern California SWP 1972 Campaign Weekend, "For a Socialist America." The weekend included an address by SWP Texas gubernatorial candidate Debby Leonard, a debate on election strategy between a Jenness supporter and a McGovern supporter, and the YSA film, *To Make A Revolution*.

The weekend was wrapped up by a campaign rally Sunday evening May 21 in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union hall in San Francisco. Seven people asked to join the YSA afterward.

Join now

() I want more information.

() I want to join the YSA.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

Send to YSA, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Moscow's pact with Washington means more war, not peace

By DICK ROBERTS

MAY 29—The most publicized achievement of the Moscow summit so far is the pact on "arms control." This pact has been accompanied by a few other agreements. Each time one of them is signed, the world is treated to views of President Nixon smiling and shaking hands with all of the top leaders of the Soviet Union.

President Nixon also went to the Moscow ballet (where a woman who dared to shout out her objections to the U.S. invasion of Vietnam was hauled off by security guards). And Nixon even made a TV speech to the Russian people said to be filled with "folksy aphorisms."

Meanwhile, massive U.S. bombardment of Vietnam continues at historic levels. U.S. bombs alone prevent the collapse of Saigon armies on three major war fronts. Reporters in South Vietnam describe how whole units of revolutionary fighters are killed by bombs dropped by American B-52s. Administration officials repeat that "there are no places off limits" to the U.S. bombers. Correspondents in Hanoi report that areas of Haiphong have been flattened and that the bomb damage is worse to the south.

President Nixon mouthed pious phrases as the "arms control" pact was signed: "We want to be remembered by our deeds, not by the fact that we brought war to the world, but by the fact that we made the world a more peaceful one for all peoples of the world."

Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev chimed in, "This is a victory for all peaceloving people, because security and peace is the common goal."

Followers of the Kremlin bureaucracy around the world also clapped their hands. "The importance of Friday's Soviet-U.S. agreement can hardly be overestimated and represents a historic victory for the USSR's policy of peaceful co-existence," declared the May 27 *Daily World*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party in the United States.

A porter in a Moscow hotel more nearly described the feelings of every supporter of the Vietnamese revolution. The porter told *New York Times* correspondent Hedrick Smith what he thought about Nixon's speech to the Russian people. (In the speech, Nixon did not mention the war in Vietnam; instead the president professed to weep over young people killed in World War II, recalling the war diary of a Russian school girl named Tanya Savicheva.)

"Hundreds have died in Vietnam and he talks about Tanya," the hotel porter said, "but there are kids like Tanya in Vietnam."

Invoked Lenin

Earlier in the week, Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny explained the policy of "peaceful co-existence." Podgorny invoked one of the leaders of the Russian revolution to justify Moscow's strategy of betraying revolutions.

"We stand for a radical turn toward relaxation of the existing tensions in all continents of the world, for freeing the peoples from the heavy arms burden, for a peaceful political settlement of problems through negotiation and with due account taken of the aspirations and will of the peoples and their inalienable right to decided their destinies themselves without interference and pressure from outside," said Pod-

gorny in a toast to President Nixon May 22.

"As far back as in the early years of the young Soviet state, its founder, V. I. Lenin, substantiated the objective need for and possibility of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems. Today, as before, the Soviet Union is prepared to develop and deepen relations of business co-operation and mutually beneficial ties with states of a different social system."

"This fully applies to the relations with the United States also in the sense that peaceful co-existence must not be limited to absence of war."

The *Daily World* echoes the same phony line. "Today," the *World* declared in an editorial May 23, "the attempt of U.S. imperialism to solve that general crisis by armed might could envelop the world in nuclear conflict. Clearly, the prime need is to frustrate those who would venture on that road, and to negotiate planks of agreement on every issue where there are differences between the U.S.

of world peace was overthrowing capitalism on a global scale. They taught that the Russian revolution itself would be in danger until the revolution spread to the more advanced capitalist countries. They founded a world revolutionary organization, the Communist International, to help lead the fight for world socialism."

Internationalism

The central doctrine of Leninism—that the revolution must be internationalized—flows from the actual character of capitalism, not from any preachments about it. Capitalism is a permanent generator of war. The system of world monopoly rule for the private profit of a tiny few cannot be a peaceful system. Permanent peaceful subservience of the workers and peasants in the capitalist world to the industrialists and bankers is not possible.

Proof lies in the history of the twentieth century. It is a history marked by interimperialist world wars, by economic crises, and by rev-

of all in the most advanced, powerful, most enlightened and free capitalist countries, the world imperialist butchery and the Versailles 'Peace'—the very thought of peacefully subordinating the capitalists to the will of the majority of the exploited, of the peaceful, reformist transition to Socialism, is not only extreme philistine stupidity, but also downright deception of the workers, the embellishment of capitalist wage slavery, concealment of the truth."

Lenin put quotation marks around the word peace in reference to the Versailles agreements that followed World War I because he knew that these agreements could not bring lasting peace as long as imperialism existed.

Arms control?

Can "arms control" agreements signed by the imperialists be steps toward world peace? This issue is not a new one in the history of the twentieth century. Before and during the First World War, there were many who believed that war could be prevented, or stopped after it started, by urging the imperialist antagonists to come to peace terms. Lenin tirelessly polemicized against those "socialists" who promoted such illusions. In April 1917 he wrote:

"There is one, and only one kind of internationalism in deed: working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) such, and only such, a struggle and such a line in every country without exception." (Emphasis in original.)

These lines were written before the Bolsheviks came to power. They were written before Lenin or anyone else could even dream that the Soviet workers state would one day become the world's second most powerful nation. Is there any doubt that the revolutionist Lenin would be appalled by the counterrevolutionary course the Moscow bureaucrats are following?

They are supplying only the most minimal aid to the Vietnamese; they are not attempting to build an international antiwar movement in defense of the Vietnamese revolution; and they are doing business with the chief agent of U.S. imperialism. The central point of this business is precisely the deception that there can be an "arms control" agreement with the imperialist warmakers.

One only has to turn to the agreement signed in Moscow May 26 to see how much peace it actually guarantees. *New York Times* correspondent Max Frankel on May 27 described the probable results of the agreement: "The arms race will go on, not only in the regular army, navy and air force weaponry that is unaffected by the accord but also in the quality of nuclear warheads—that is, their size and accuracy and evasive skills—and in the arts of anti-submarine warfare and even in the technology of the missile defense systems that the treaty is to limit severely at inadequate levels."

"Indeed, under certain conditions or political pressures, the treaty itself may stimulate further competition in these uncovered areas."

It's clear that the agreement does not reduce the danger of nuclear war

Continued on page 22



AS THE BOMBS FALL ON INDOCHINA!

and U.S.S.R., toward the creation of a world structure of peace.

"That has been the position of the Soviet Union since the October Revolution."

The *World* editorial and Podgorny's statement are almost totally false. The one element of truth in them is that the war policies of U.S. imperialism do threaten to trigger a nuclear holocaust.

But it is not true that seeking agreements about arms control with U.S. imperialism will reduce this danger of nuclear conflict. And it is not true that such a course was advocated by Lenin. The Bolsheviks who led the overturn of capitalism in Russia in 1917 believed that the only guarantee

of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary struggles. The world has not seen one month without gunfire since the end of World War II. The revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese has itself continued for three decades.

Contrast the following statement by Lenin with the positions of Podgorny and the *Daily World* editors. Lenin's statement appears in the "Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International." The congress was held in 1920, when the young Soviet state faced a sea of hostile imperialist powers. Lenin declared:

"In the concrete situation which has been created by militarism, imperialism, all over the world, and most

An internationalist program to defend Vietnamese revolution

The following is excerpted from a report on "Vietnam and World Politics" by Joseph Hansen, given at the 1965 national convention of the Socialist Workers Party. Hansen, editor of Intercontinental Press, a weekly international news magazine, delivered the report about seven months after President Johnson began bombing North Vietnam in February 1965.

Washington's action signified a major turning point in world politics; it represented an acid test for all parties and governments that profess to be socialist. Hansen's report described the failure of the Soviet and Chinese regimes to respond to that escalation in a revolutionary manner and outlined what a revolutionary policy might have been.

Since 1965 the Kremlin has continually failed to respond to each escalation by Washington with the counteroffensive required by the situation. Moscow's most disgusting and servile betrayal of the Vietnamese struggle has been its reaction to Nixon's recent blockade and stepped-up air attack on North Vietnam.

Not only did the Kosygin-Brezhnev regime fail to call for a massive political offensive that would inspire and mobilize people throughout the world, but it even refused to cancel Nixon's visit to Moscow.

We are reprinting this excerpt from Hansen's report because the revolutionary response he outlined for 1965 is as timely today as it was then.

The full text of the report is available in the winter 1966 issue of the International Socialist Review.

— Editors

All their [American imperialists] calculations thus called for a step-by-step tactic in which they could feel their way, testing the ground as they proceeded, leaving open the possibility of backing down at any point if it turned out that the Soviet Union did react sharply to a military attack on another workers state; or if China proved to be neither a paper tiger nor a sleeping tiger; or if the plunge into Vietnam set off a chain reaction in a revolutionary direction.

Of course, one great danger was involved. Suppose they committed themselves so deeply, in the absence of a stiff response, that a point of no return was reached? That is, a point where it would seem like an overwhelming defeat to draw back? What then? Wouldn't it be necessary to risk everything in a desperate gamble and begin using nuclear weapons?

That is one of the great unknowns in this situation and why effective political opposition to Johnson's war course is so important.

It was clear from the beginning that Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam was a major world development. It constituted a military thrust squarely at the workers states, directly involving the defense not only of North Vietnam but of China and the Soviet Union. It constituted a direct threat against every colonial people seeking political and economic freedom, for the United States was clearly trying to terrify them with the thought of what might happen to them if they should rebel. . . .

The advance of American imperialism in Vietnam hinged on Washington's calculation that Moscow would offer no effective opposition. Up to this point, the calculation appears to have been well founded.

How should the Soviet government

have reacted? One can visualize a regime, genuinely following Lenin's tradition, taking a course about as follows:

First, a statement would be issued informing the entire world about the true situation. This statement would point out the aims of U.S. imperialism: (1) The U.S. imperialist aim of taking over the colonial empires which the European powers are no longer capable of dominating. (2) The U.S. imperialist aim of beating back the colonial revolution that began in the Far East at the end of World War II and which has swept through Africa and all of Latin America. (3) The U.S. imperialist aim of crushing the workers states—both the first one that came into being after World War I and the newer ones that came into being after World War II. (4) The U.S. imperialist aim of converting the entire world into a vast slave-labor camp with the earth's masses toiling for the profit, benefit and pleasure of the tiny circle of colossally wealthy families ruling North America.

In addition, the statement would of-

call on the American workers to organize a revolutionary-socialist party to struggle for power and by taking power, end once and for all the standing threat to world peace which American imperialism represents.

In reply to the imperialist argument that such an appeal constituted intervention in the internal affairs of the United States, the appeal might well list all the places on this planet where Washington is intervening in the internal affairs of other countries, and it might well call attention to the need for some responsible and weighty force to remind the American people of their obvious duties to humanity in the struggle for a world of enduring peace.

Thirdly, a revolutionary Soviet government would notify Washington that in view of the attack on North Vietnam and the clear threat this represented to other workers states, the Soviet deterrent to nuclear war was being strengthened. The exact form of this strengthening would be specified: the equipping of the People's Republic of China with a full panoply of

determination to come to the aid of the beleaguered freedom fighters in South Vietnam.

It goes without saying that a revolutionary Soviet government would set the example in sending such aid to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

It is not difficult to visualize what an impact such a course of action would have had. On the one hand it would have offered incomparable revolutionary inspiration to the masses on all continents. It could have been a decisive catalyst in a number of countries where the class struggle is not far from a revolutionary level right now. And, on the other hand, it would have paralyzed the strategists in Washington, who calculate their actions in accordance with what they think they can get away with, this being the only principle they either know or observe.

If these strategists weren't sure about the meaning of the Soviet reply to their provocation, the readings on their electronic calculating machines would have been unmistakable: "Withdraw at once. Alternative is suicide; and suicide doesn't pay."

Instead of a reaction like that, or anywhere near it, what was the response of the Kosygin-Brezhnev regime?

They talked about the "need" for "peaceful coexistence" and how the possibility of peaceful coexistence with American imperialism was being "endangered" by escalation of the war in Vietnam.

They issued perfunctory denunciations of the U.S. imperialist aggression.

They talked about backing North Vietnam and even dropped bold hints about the possibility of sending "volunteers" to help in the struggle . . . if needed.

As Johnson continued methodically to bomb North Vietnam day after day, week after week, and month after month, the Kosygin-Brezhnev regime hinted that they would finally respond to the need to send material aid to North Vietnam.

At the same time, Soviet diplomats spread the word that the Chinese were holding up shipments of arms or making it difficult to get them through to Vietnam.

In brief, Moscow followed a course that fitted almost perfectly with the prognostications of the Pentagon brain trust, offering substance to the imperialist propaganda about Moscow's "lack of interest" in Vietnam and about the "common interest" of Washington and Moscow in cutting down China's influence there.

The policy of Kosygin-Brezhnev is so scandalously out of keeping with the needs of the situation that under their inspiration the big Communist parties of western Europe, particularly in France and Italy, have failed even to stage protest rallies at the American embassies, still less engage in any kind of effective or dramatic campaign in behalf of Vietnam and against the danger of a third world war.

Not the slightest step has been taken toward a countermove somewhere in the world. No embarrassment for Johnson in Berlin. No embarrassment for Johnson over Santo Domingo. In Greece today, where it would not take much to bring down the hated monarchy, the Communist Party leaders

Continued on page 22



Moscow has not followed an internationalist policy capable of defending Vietnam from U.S. bombs.

fer a Marxist explanation of why the capitalist system breeds war and why a planned economy eliminates the economic motive for war and why it is that the long-standing alternative of socialism or barbarism has now reached the extreme stage of facing humanity with the alternative of socialism or atomic annihilation.

Secondly, a revolutionary Soviet government would issue an appeal to the American workers and their allies to resist the imperialist game of pitting the United States against peaceful peoples in other parts of the world and blocking their aspirations for a better life. The appeal would

nuclear weapons.

Fourthly, as an immediate measure, a revolutionary Soviet government would most likely announce that it was rushing full material assistance to the people of North Vietnam in order to enable them to offer an effective defense against the raids of American bombers. It would most likely announce that this material aid included not only a big stock of ground-to-air rockets but fleets of planes.

And, finally, a revolutionary Soviet government would almost certainly issue an appeal for international assistance from all peoples and governments who stand for the right of self-

N.Y. cops assault high school students

By MARTY BOYERS

NEW YORK — Students at Stuyvesant High School here are preparing to defend their rights in the wake of an unprovoked police attack on a peaceful demonstration outside the school May 23.

Approximately 200 students struck their classes that day to protest the suspension of Howard Straker, a leader of the Black and Latino Student Union. Although the principal claims Straker was suspended under a previously unannounced board of education policy for missing classes and loitering near the school, students believe Straker's political activity is the real reason for the action.

The 200 striking students stayed in the vicinity of the school, occupying a section of East Fifteenth Street closed to traffic during the school day. At about 9:30 a.m. eight cops attacked and roughed up two women students who had been standing near a school entrance. The two had not been blocking the entrance—which was chained shut anyway—and the cops' action angered the rest of the students. However, the students took no action in response to the provocative violence of the police.

Shortly afterward, someone inside the school poured sulfuric acid down on the demonstrating students, injuring 10 of them with second- and third-degree burns. This incident was subsequently used by cops and school officials to excuse an all-out police attack on the strikers. But this explanation fails to note two facts: 1) The initial police violence against the two women occurred *before* the acid-spilling and 2) in further attacking the crowd, the cops were *joining* the acid-spiller.

At about 10 a.m. a phalanx of 60 cops moved in and attacked the 200 students without warning. Called by the principal, the cops clubbed dozens of students until the demonstration dispersed. Gaspar Fabbriante, the principal, told reporters afterward he was considering mass suspension of the students involved. But this did not occur. Instead, an assistant principal has now said he will press charges against the leaders of the strike for "inciting a riot."

A Student Mobilization Committee city-wide steering committee meeting that same evening unanimously declared its solidarity with the Stuyvesant strikers and its support for their democratic rights.

The following day, May 24, the Stuyvesant Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley issued a leaflet saying: "On Tuesday morning, the students at Stuyvesant High School were victims of a brutal and vicious attack by the Police Department. . . . It is key that a mass meeting be held to respond to this attack. . . . Students must answer this assault in one voice, demanding: COPS OUT OF OUR SCHOOLS! AMNESTY FOR ALL STUDENTS!"

As the shock of the attack is wearing off, students are preparing to defend those who are threatened with suspension.

SWP ballot campaign gains thousands more signatures

Illinois

By BARRY DAVID

CHICAGO, May 30 — Last Saturday Suzanne Haig arrived early at the shopping center located at Madison and Pulaski in Chicago's Black community. Instead of new clothing or groceries, she intended to go home with hundreds of signatures to place the Socialist Workers Party on the Illinois ballot.

After six and a half hours, Haig collected 513 signatures. This represents the highest number of signatures collected by a single petitioner in one day, according to the national SWP Campaign Committee.

"I used three boards, so I didn't have to wait for anyone to finish signing before asking someone else," Haig said. She added that she placed photographs of the candidates, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, on the backs of the boards, and would show the photos to the persons she approached.

"I mentioned that the candidates support Black control of the Black community and asked people to sign for them," she said.

As a result of her work, Suzanne won \$5 worth of radical literature from Pathfinder Press. This was the prize for the highest number of signatures in a competition sponsored by the Illinois SWP Campaign Committee.

Suzanne said that the spirit of competition had definitely added to her signature total, since petitioners sent regular reports into the campaign headquarters during the day and were able to learn how petitioners in other areas were doing. The extra effort paid off.

Runner-up Bob Cantrick narrowly missed the prize, returning with 500 signatures. Illinois petitioners have now collected a total of 18,378 signatures.

Haig noted that her signature total was made possible by the deep distrust people have for the front-running Democratic candidates and by the Black signers' agreement that Blacks should control the institutions that affect their lives.

Haig is a relatively new petitioner and was unable to compare the response to previous ballot drives.

"I can only tell you that it's possible to come up with a lot of signatures," she said. "I know. I did it."

Massachusetts

By JEFF POWERS

BOSTON, May 28 — A rally here yesterday, attended by 175 people, officially launched the Massachusetts petition drive to put Jenness and Pulley on the November ballot. 56,000 signatures are required by law, but petitioners plan to get more than this to ensure a place on the ballot.

The featured speaker at the rally was Peter Camejo, national chairman of the SWP 1972 Campaign Committee. Paul McNaulty of the Friends of Irish Freedom, Diana Travis of the Daughters of Bilitis, Russell Johnson of the American Friends Service Committee, and Nancy Charpentier of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley gave greetings to the campaign supporters at the rally and endorsed the SWP's attempt to achieve ballot status in Massachusetts.

In a May 29 story on the rally headlined "Camejo says 'no' to both parties," the *Boston Globe* printed quotes from Camejo's speech. They included his statement that putting Jenness and Pulley on the ballot will give thousands of Massachusetts voters who are fed up with the Democratic and Republican parties a chance to vote for a real alternative.

More than \$800 was raised for the petition drive at the rally. One person who had never heard about the socialist campaign until the day of the rally gave \$100 that he had been saving for a donation to George McGovern. These contributions will help to finance the 35 people who are petitioning full-time for three weeks to collect a large number of the required signatures.

According to Jeannie Reynolds, Massachusetts petitioning co-coordinator, 10,048 signatures have already been collected. In addition to shopping centers and downtown areas, petitioners are going to other places where large numbers of people can be reached in a short period of time. A team of four who went to a Boston Red Sox game called back for more petitioners because of the enthusiastic response.

The office staff in Boston plans to begin validating signatures next week, and volunteers are still needed for this task as well as for petitioning. For more information, contact the Massachusetts SWP campaign headquarters at 655 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass. 02111.

Washington, D.C.

By BARBARA MUTNICK

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 28 — The drive to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in the District of Columbia got off to a good start last week, with petitioners collecting well over 8,000 of the required 13,000 signatures. More than 6,000 of the signatures were obtained on Saturday, May 27, when 66 campaign supporters mobilized in the first big push to gain ballot status.

Although all the petitioners were enthusiastic about the response they received, those who petitioned in downtown Washington did the best. Averaging well over 25 signatures an hour, they reported that almost everyone they approached signed the petition. Most of the signers were Black, they said, and many of them sported African Liberation Day buttons and had just returned from the demonstration.

Dee Moss, D.C.'s top petitioner, has averaged 200 signatures a day since the drive began. He reported, "Almost without exception, everyone who listens to what I am doing agrees to sign because they agree that my candidates have the right to be on the ballot."

Another petitioner, Vinnie Longo, noted that D.C. residents seem much more ready to sign petitions this year. Longo, who petitioned last year, attributed this to the heightened interest in the presidential election.

To assure ballot status, the SWP Campaign Committee in D.C. has announced that it will aim for twice the required number of signatures. Because the D.C. election law requires that the candidates be legally qualified in order to run for office, the campaign committee is substituting the names of Evelyn Reed and Clifton DeBerry, two well-known members of the Socialist Workers Party, for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. Jenness and Pulley do not meet the requirement that they be 35 years old to serve as president and vice-president.

Two other parties are also collecting signatures in the District—the Communist Party and the People's Party.

A campaign rally to kick off the petitioning drive was held on May 27. Andrew Pulley was the featured speaker. After the meeting, a supporter of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

SWP ballot-drive scoreboard

STATE	SIGNATURES REQUIRED	SIGNATURES COLLECTED
Connecticut	12,600	2,000
Florida	27,960	51,600 (completed)
Idaho	1,500	3,000 (completed)
Illinois	25,000	18,378
Iowa	1,000	begins in June
Indiana	8,466	16,500 (completed)
Kentucky	1,000	2,007 (completed)
Louisiana	1,000	3,000 (completed)
Massachusetts	56,038	10,048
Michigan	14,256	28,732 (completed)
Mississippi	1,000	begins in June
New Hampshire	1,500	500
New Jersey	800	2,350 (completed)
North Dakota	300	begins in June
Ohio	5,000	9,767 (completed)
South Dakota	4,799	6,619
Tennessee	225	begins in June
Texas	22,253	43,000
Utah	500	942 (completed)
Vermont	1,535	3,000
Washington, D. C.	13,010	8,263

Plans for petitioning in additional states will be announced in the future.

Volunteers and money are needed to help complete the petitioning in these states. If you would like to help, clip the coupon below and send it to: SWP Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

☐ I would like to help petition to put the SWP on the ballot. Send me information.

☐ Enclosed is \$ ___ to help pay petitioning costs.

☐ I endorse the SWP campaign as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, although I do not necessarily agree with all the planks of the SWP platform.

Name _____
Address _____ Phone _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
School/organization _____

Socialist challenges Democrat Dellums

By FRANK BOEHM

BERKELEY, Calif. — "He said he will oppose [Ron] Dellums 'because [Dellums] uses radical rhetoric to lead the mass antiwar movement and Blacks and Chicanos into the Democratic Party, which is our greatest enemy.'" This is how the *San Francisco Chronicle* described the campaign of Ken Miliner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from California's 7th C.D. The seat is now held by Black Democrat Ron Dellums.

The 7th C.D. encompasses all of Berkeley, major parts of Oakland, and several other cities. Within the district's boundaries are the University of California at Berkeley, with its 28,000 students and 10,000 employees. There is also a large and very poor Black community, a Chicano community, and three large high schools with radical student bodies.

Dellums got elected in 1970 by convincing voters that the Democratic

student in Detroit. He was elected to the central committee of the Association of Black Students at Highland Park Community College in Detroit in 1968. It was while participating in a series of strikes demanding Black control of the all-Black Highland Park Community College that he became a revolutionary socialist.

Miliner also became involved in the Michigan antiwar movement. In the fall of 1969 he was an organizer of an antiwar march in which more than 5,000 Black high school students participated. That same month he joined the Young Socialist Alliance. He is currently on the national committee of the YSA.

During the massive student upsurge of May 1970 following Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the murder of students at Kent and Jackson State, Miliner was elected to the city-wide student strike committee that led the student actions in Detroit.

Miliner was a founder of the Black Moratorium Committee and was ac-



Ken Miliner



Ron Dellums

Party could be used as a vehicle to bring about fundamental change. Miliner's campaign has emphasized the contradiction in fighting for the liberation of Blacks, Chicanos, and women while remaining inside the Democratic or Republican parties.

In his speaking engagements since he announced his candidacy, Miliner has stressed the need for Blacks to break with the racist Democratic Party and to construct an independent Black political party. Upon returning from the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., he spoke on the meaning of that gathering to meetings in Berkeley, Los Angeles, and on campuses in San Jose, Stockton, and Modesto. He also addressed regional socialist education conferences in Seattle and Berkeley.

Miliner has actively participated in the struggles that have broken out in the 7th C.D. The most recent example involved the strike of Black, Chicano, and Asian law students at the University of California. The students were protesting administration cutbacks in the admission of Black, Chicano and Asian students.

Miliner spent every day of the struggle on the campus in discussions with the Boalt Hall strikers and walking the picket lines. He participated in the mass decision-making meetings and helped build support for the strike, which the students eventually won.

Miliner's background reflects his participation in the social movements that have shaken the country in the last few years. He became active in the Black struggle while a high school

tive in the national defense effort around the struggle of Afro-Americans in Cairo, Ill., against the racist city government and police.

Prior to the historic April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C., Miliner served on the national staff of the Third World Task Force of the National Peace Action Coalition, the organizer of the action.

So far Dellums has avoided appearing on the same platform with Miliner to debate their differences. Dellums declined the opportunity to speak on the same program with Miliner when the socialist candidate was interviewed by the local Pacifica radio station, KPFA. In that interview, Miliner talked about the Gary convention and challenged Dellums to join him in a discussion of the strategy for Black liberation.

Many of Dellums' supporters are supporting Senator George McGovern or Representative Shirley Chisholm. Miliner feels that this experience will lead a great number of them to re-examine their support to Dellums.

"Right now the McGovern supporters are watching their candidate veer to the right as he smells a possible victory at the Democratic Party convention," Miliner commented. "At the same time, Chisholm has made it clear through the course of her campaign what she is really after—a few more token Blacks in government positions. Most of Dellums' supporters also support either McGovern or Chisholm, and I think that by the time of the Democratic Party convention Dellums will have a lot of explaining to do to his supporters."

'72 Socialist Campaign

On May 20, Shirley Chisholm addressed 1,000 people at San Diego State University, asking for support in her presidential race and urging those interested in social change to depend on deals made at the upcoming Democratic National Convention in Miami.

She pledged that "new goals and new priorities for all mankind will be set at this convention." Helen Hollander of the San Diego Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley writes:

"When I asked her how she expected to effect changes from within the Democratic Party, which is sexist and racist and has involved us in wars, Ms. Chisholm got angry. She asked 'why don't you (YSJPers) go after them (Humphrey and McGovern)? I'm only a little Black woman.' She continuously referred to the Socialist Workers Party as a 'splinter party.' Her final response was 'trust me.' She said that she 'wouldn't engage in futility' and that she believed 'many things can still be done within the established party.' But, she concluded, 'The time may come when I too may have to change my opinion.'"

"People who attend antiwar demonstrations usually know about the Truth Kit," said David Salner of New York, who sold 65 of the YSJP McGovern Truth Kits at the May 21 antiwar rally in Washington, D.C. "I explained to people that it lists all the reasons why many antiwar activists are not going to support McGovern. In addition to the enthusiastic responses of those who wanted to know the facts, I got a few vehement rejections from enraged Democrats. This often interested onlookers and increased sales. Everyone wants to read a controversial item."



Jeanne Lafferty

On May 25, Jeanne Lafferty, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Massachusetts' 9th C.D., issued a statement condemning a bill recently passed by the state House. The bill gives the "right to life" to the fetus "from the moment of conception."

"The state does not have the right to determine by decree 'the moment of conception' or that the unborn have rights over and above those already living. . . ."

Lafferty called for the elimination of all laws "which attempt to force childbearing on women" or "that restrict the right of women to abortion on demand."

The May-June Southern Gay Liberator (Delray Beach, Fla.) reprints from The Militant Linda Jenness's March 13 statement in support of the struggle for gay liberation.

Candidates for University of Maryland student government president, including Steve Sluchan of the YSJP, were interviewed by the campus TV station. Each candidate taped three five-minute broadcasts.

Sluchan's first broadcast dealt with campus complicity with the Indochina war through Air Force ROTC. (On April 27, 5,000 people participated in an anti-ROTC candlelight march.) Sluchan, the only candidate unconditionally opposed to ROTC's presence on campus, supported a strike coalition's demand to utilize the ROTC building for a women's studies center. Sluchan also cited a student-government-sponsored referendum in which students voted overwhelmingly against ROTC.

In his second broadcast, Sluchan called for yearly student referendums to determine the allocation of funds obtained from the student fees.

In the third broadcast, the YSJP candidate called for student-worker-faculty control of the university to transform it into a vehicle for social change. Sluchan pointed to the recent upsurge on campus, which raised the demand for an "antiwar university."

The following are excerpts from letters recently received by the national campaign office:

"I am a young man in Boston, 16 years old, and I am quite interested in the Socialist Workers Party. I have read a few articles and books and I would certainly like a closer look at socialism. I used to be apathetic, but now I am quite concerned about the worker. Sometimes what we have to face is no joy to me. I attend an excellent school and I am being prepared for a fine future, but I wish to do something more constructive in my life to make this a better place to live." J. E. B., Boston, Mass.

"Could you please send me buttons, stickers, posters, and all materials that they allow you to send me on the Socialist Workers Party and our candidates for president and vice-president, Jenness and Pulley." J. M., Avon-by-the-Sea, N.J.

"Could you possibly send 100 endorser cards so I can begin a campaign drive to collect donations? I'm quite sure I can increase the number of endorsers from this area. Anything else you send to help would be greatly appreciated." M. G., Cincinnati, Ohio.

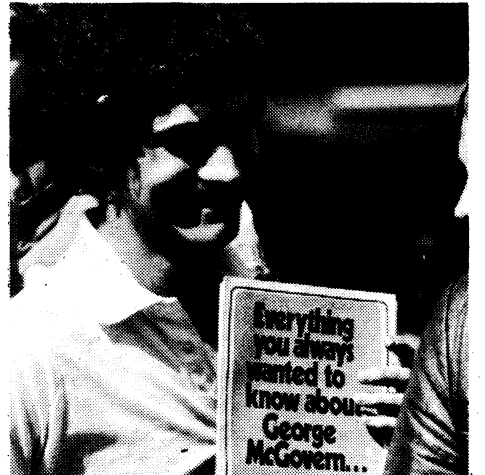


Photo by Ellen Lemisch

Address all requests for Jenness-Pulley endorser cards, McGovern Truth Kits, posters, buttons, etc. to 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

— STEVE BEREN

This is the second of four articles assessing the Berkeley April Coalition's first year in office. The coalition, a bloc of movement activists and Democrats, elected three members to the Berkeley City Council in April 1971. Harry Ring is the head of The Militant's Southwest Bureau. He spent several weeks in Berkeley gathering material for these articles.

By HARRY RING

Despite some of the things the April Coalition has done, even those who had initial apprehensions are generally agreed that Berkeley has not taken the high road to revolution.

One of those who seems to be breathing a bit easier is Mike Culbert, editor of the right-wing *Berkeley Daily Gazette*.

The 'April Coalition': many splits, few gains

A bit different than the typical mindless right-winger, Culbert is, from his vantage point, an astute political observer.

A month after the elections, in a June 11, 1971, editorial, the *Gazette* said: "This newspaper was quick to lump our youthful mayor into the 'radical' camp. . . . However, a month of watching Mayor Widener at work has convinced us that Mayor Widener is trying—and hard, we would say—to be mayor for all of Berkeley."

Several months later, while still berating Ira Simmons and D'Army Bailey as "obstructionists" on the council, Culbert was taking a somewhat softer view of Ilona (Loni) Hancock.

In an interview at that time with this reporter, Culbert had this to say about Hancock:

"I would say—and this is my pure speculation on an individual observer—I think she probably is moving a little closer to the center due to her sudden exposure to the nitty-gritty, day-to-day unromantic problems that exist in just moving the city along.

"Also I think she is essentially honest in her concerns and is willing to learn and try a different approach and attitude. She does have her areas of specific interest—this women's trip is the most outstanding one. But insofar as she is going to be more pragmatic and less idealistic, I think she is moving a little bit more toward what some people would call the center."

Hancock, who defines her radicalism as "a return to Jeffersonian democracy," addressed a Junior Chamber of Commerce meeting last September, where she offered a balanced appraisal of the new City Council. "The city," she said, "has not disintegrated into anarchy or blossomed into utopia."

Putting it another way, she said:

"Radicals are here to stay in Berkeley, and so are conservatives. The question is how are we going to live together."

Tenuous alliance

Living with Berkeley's conservatives is not Hancock's only problem. She is also having difficulty living with her coalition allies, Bailey and Simmons. The rift between them began to develop shortly after they were seated on the council.

This should not have surprised as many Berkeleyans as it did since the alliance was at best tenuous from the outset.

It was initially agreed in the April Coalition that the whites would select two candidates and the Blacks two. The basis for unity would be a minimal one—support to the police-control amendment. Selection of the Black nominees was left to the Berkeley Black Caucus. A relatively narrow formation, including poverty agency workers and other activists, the Black Caucus is essentially a Black faction within the Democratic Party. Its principal claim to recognition was that it had been associated with the election of Ron Dellums, Warren Widener, and Wilmont Sweeney to the Berkeley City Council. All are Democrats.

The Black Caucus selected Bailey and Simmons as its nominees, even though neither was too well known in the community. Bailey had arrived in Berkeley from New York in 1969, Simmons from Washington in 1968. Both are attorneys and had been associated with the civil rights movement.

One explanation of why the Black Caucus nominated them is that they had announced they were going to run anyway.

Observers sympathetic to the April Coalition generally conceded that Simmons and Bailey worked more diligently for their own election than they did for adoption of the police-control amendment. Similarly, it is pretty well agreed that Ron Dellums put more effort into winning election for Simmons, Bailey, and Mayor Widener than he did into working for passage of the amendment.

Questions about money

From the time of their election, many questions have been raised about Bailey and Simmons. Membership on the city council is a part-time job paying only \$300 a month. (The mayor gets \$500 and the real power is the city manager, who gets \$35,000 a year.)

Despite such limited official resources, Bailey and Simmons set up a headquarters soon after

the elections with a full-time paid staff. Estimates of the budget for the operation run as high as \$10,000 a month.

Bailey and Simmons have refused to explain to the Black Caucus, the April Coalition, or anyone else where this money is coming from. At various times they have suggested to the press that the source is a wealthy, socially conscious Eastern family and/or a private foundation.

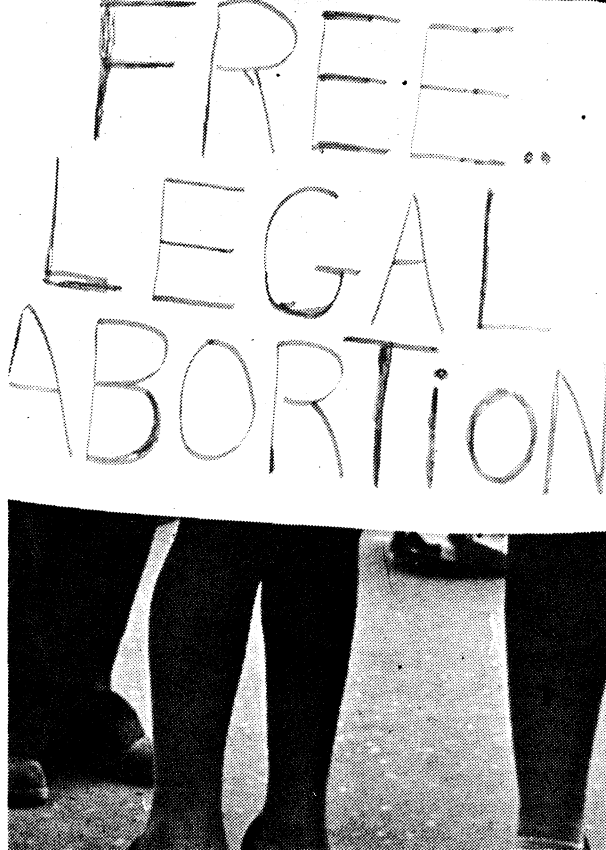


Photo by Harry Ring

Lack of a common political program among members of the April Coalition is shown by the counterposing of the Black struggle and the women's liberation movement by Coalition members. In reality, these struggles are complementary.

Four months after their election, their campaign manager, Eric Morton, held a news conference at which he denounced the two council members for completely ignoring the Black Caucus, which had nominated and helped elect them. He charged they had betrayed the Black community and urged their recall.

According to the Aug. 20, 1971, *Berkeley Moni-*

tor, Morton charged that as a result of their conduct, "the Blacks in South and West Berkeley still have no more to do with City Hall than before Bailey and Simmons were elected—perhaps even less."

At a separate news conference Aug. 17, the Berkeley Black Caucus declared that "Councilmen Bailey and Simmons have persisted in remaining out of touch with those of us most responsible for their election. They have erected themselves as a closed institution and their intentions are questionable."

The Black Caucus charged the two had become inaccessible to the Black Caucus and "refused to consult the Black community" about the then pending city budget.

"We're not concerned that Bailey and Simmons did not consult the Black Caucus," the Caucus said, according to the *Berkeley Monitor*, "they did not consult anybody."

However, both the Black Caucus and the April Coalition rejected the suggestion that the two be recalled.

Bailey and Simmons then held a news conference at which they declined to answer the specific charges levelled by their former campaign manager and by the Black Caucus.

"Whatever differences we may have with the Caucus, or any other of our brothers and sisters in the Black community, we will deal with 'within the Black community,'" Bailey said.

Thus far there has been no word of a resolution of the problem within the Black community.

Panthers & Dellums

Appearing in support of Bailey and Simmons at their news conference was Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party.

While embroiled in the dispute with the Black Caucus, Bailey and Simmons were also at odds with their council associate, Loni Hancock. From all reports of council proceedings, it seems quite apparent that from the time they were seated, there has been no real consultation, not to speak of serious cooperation between Hancock and the Bailey-Simmons team.

The public face of the dispute between them seems to take the form of a conflict of interest between the needs of women and the needs of Blacks. This is expressed most often on the issue of the allocation of city funds.

During council deliberations on a new municipal budget, Hancock presented a motion to allocate funds for a women's health center, including a center to aid women who had been raped. The motion died for lack of a second.

Later Bailey and Simmons asserted that they would not put women's liberation on an equal footing with Black liberation and that they saw Blacks as more oppressed than women in general and white women in particular.

"I agree that white women ought not be discriminated against," Bailey said, "but I'll be goddamned if I'm going to put that concern ahead of my concern for Black people."

The proposed health center would have been available to all Berkeley women, not just whites, and there was no reason to assume that funds for such a center could be allocated only at the expense of projects for the Black community.

In a later division, Hancock abstained when Bailey and Simmons presented a proposal for funding a Third World Cultural Center. She said there were no provisions for women's participation. She did not say why she didn't seek to amend the proposal to include such provisions.

The adoption of a mere policy statement on affirmative action in city hiring policies was delayed for many months, in large part because Bailey and Simmons were determined to vote against the inclusion of women in the policy statement. In defending their position, Bailey has explicitly stated that the struggle for Black liberation requires that the demands of the women's movement be subordinated.

As the dispute between Hancock and Bailey-Simmons widened, Dellums sought to ameliorate the situation. His contribution consisted of a statement to the University of California *Daily Californian* declaring, "What persons elected through the new politics have got to do is concentrate on the issues that cut across lines of race and sex; order their priorities that way. . . . But the burden is on the people who put them in office to make sure they do this."

He didn't indicate how this should be done.

He stressed, however, that there was no reason why the April Coalition and Black Caucus could not continue to work together.

Since Dellums is up for reelection this year, it is not difficult to comprehend his desire to gloss over the disputed issues among the partisans of the "new politics" and his concern for continuing the unity of the two groups.

To be continued.

New Zealand women march

From Intercontinental Press
By KAY GOODGER

WELLINGTON, New Zealand—Abortion Action Week had a nationwide impact in New Zealand, with six cities taking part. In Wellington and Christchurch, a total of more than 500 persons marched May 5, the large majority of them women. On the marches and at pickets and other activities, the demand was raised for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws and for free, easily available contraception and sterilisation.

The demonstrations were probably the first such actions around a feminist issue in New Zealand since women fought for the vote in the late nineteenth century. Certainly onlookers found it novel to see so many women, of all ages, chanting "a woman's right to choose" as they marched through the crowded city streets.

Public reaction, particularly that of women, was generally favourable. An information booth set up in Christchurch encountered many women who wanted to petition for the repeal of restrictive abortion laws. However, in Wellington, supporters of the "Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child" tried to sabotage the pro-abortion demonstration. About fifty "fetus freaks," mostly men, followed the main march and later, at a public meeting,

caused a commotion by trying to shout down the speakers.

Many high-school women took part in the actions and a high-school speaker at the Wellington rally was very well received.

Abortion Action Week was organised by women's liberationists and members of the Abortion Law Reform Association, in some centres through joint action committees. The May Abortion Action Committee in Wellington acted as a national coordinating body, distributing publicity throughout the country. This committee also organised a deputation to Minister of Justice Sir Roy Jack, which brought forth an expected response: "The government has no plans for changing the law on abortion."

The government is obviously eager to keep the abortion issue quiet in this election year. The right-wing leadership of the opposition Labour party is similarly unwilling to rock this particular boat.

Unfortunately for Labour party leader Norman Kirk and his friends, abortion did become the subject of debate at the annual conference of the party, which took place the week following the abortion actions. The Labour Youth Conference, which immediately preceded the main gathering, had voted overwhelmingly in favour of repealing the abortion laws. Such was the bureaucrats' fear of a repetition of this vote by the full conference that Kirk himself took the floor and spoke at length against abortion. Despite the efforts of several pro-abortion delegates, Kirk's "right to life" deliverance won out and the conference rejected even a weak proposal to give "favourable consideration" to the liberalisation of the laws.



Photo from Socialist Action

Part of May 5 abortion march in Wellington, New Zealand

The pressure will be kept up in the coming months, as the elections approach. The enthusiasm shown in Abortion Action Week is a sign that the abortion campaign will grow rapidly as many more women demonstrate to demand their right to choose.

Abortion campaign set in Scotland

From Intercontinental Press

GLASGOW, Scotland—A national conference of Scottish women's liberation groups was held here April 22-23. Eighty women (considerably more than expected) from eight groups in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews attended.

The conference decided to launch a national campaign for free contraception and abortion on demand, with actions organised particularly around the Abortion Action Week called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition in the United States and supported by the Women's National Abortion and Contraception Campaign in England.

Two of the groups had already planned activities on this issue, particularly the Women in Action group of Glasgow.

The conference also agreed to campaign for equal pay when specific issues arose.

Each group gave a short report on its aims and activities. Papers on equal pay, women's magazines, the myth of motherhood, and women and revolution were presented and discussed. Because of the coincidence of the conference and the international day of protest against the Indochina war, conference participants who wished to march were excused to permit them to attend the demonstration in Glasgow.

The first activities set for the abortion and contraception campaign were poster parades in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee May 6. Tentative plans were made for further activities in the near future.

Antiwar actions in Italy, Britain, Austria

SALZBURG, Austria—Four thousand demonstrators marched against the war here on May 20, prior to Nixon's arrival in Austria on his way to Moscow. The action was called by the Communist Party of Austria, and 2,000 marched in its contingent. Another 2,000 marched with the Indochina Solidarity Committee (ISC) contingent.

Stephanie Coontz, a National Peace Action Coalition coordinator, brought greetings to the rally from the American antiwar movement. Representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam were refused permission to enter the country to attend the rally, and a large number of German demonstrators were turned back at the Austrian border. One American soldier told Coontz that dozens of GIs stationed in Germany had been prevented from crossing the border as well.

Later in the day, the Indochina Solidarity Committee led a march of 1,500 to the airport to greet Nixon. This march was brutally attacked by the Austrian police, but some protesters did make it to the airport.

Coontz spoke to an outdoor rally in downtown Salzburg the following day, also called by the ISC. In the coming days she will speak at antiwar rallies in England, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany.

In Rome, 30,000 people demonstrated on May 13 against the continued U.S. aggression in Vietnam. A large contingent of American students took part in the action, which was not reported in the American press.

In Great Britain, 1,500 demonstrated at the U.S. embassy in London on May 13, while two demonstrations hurriedly organized in Glasgow, Scotland, for the same day drew 200 and 600.

The Militant gets around...

OMAHA, CONTINUED: First we reported receiving a bundle order from Omaha, Neb. Then, a few weeks later, we reported that it had been cancelled at the insistence of our salesman's parents. At the same time, however, we received a new bundle order from Omaha. This week we received a letter from Omaha seller #2, which said in part: "I sold *The Militant* in two days. Half on the streets and the others at the University of Nebraska at Omaha and at Central High. Students are interested in the socialist movement but aren't familiar with it. *The Militant* will help. . . ."

"D.S. (seller #1), who ordered *Militants*, has quite a hassle to talk about. His parents, when they saw the newspapers, told him to send them back or leave home. He left home."

FALLACY FREE: A supporter from the Oakland/Berkeley area sent us the following quote from a letter she received from her mother: "There was a peace demonstration on Times Square and I bought a *Militant*. Your Dad was quite impressed with the paper. Said he couldn't find any fallacies in it. He's taking logic, you know. He usually finds the best fallacies in political speeches and cuts them out for his term paper."

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN SUPPORTERS IN NEW YORK'S UPPER WEST SIDE set up literature tables on three street corners on a recent Saturday and sold 36 *Militants*. They plan to do this at least once a week from now

on. One salesman from the Upper West Side sold 10 *Militants* in one half hour in front of the unemployment office last week.

MILITANT BOUND VOLUMES: Bound volumes of 1971 *Militants* are now available in two books at \$15 for the set. An index for 1971 is included with the bound volumes or can be ordered for 25 cents each. Send order to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

DETROIT SELLS 840 OF ONE ISSUE: In an effort to step up distribution of the May 19 *Militant* with the banner headline "March on Washington May 21," many areas doubled or tripled their regular bundles.

One area was Detroit, which took a bundle of 1,000 for that week and sold 840 of them. Sales director Debbie Deegan reports, "Articles on the May 21 demonstration in Washington, D.C., and on African Liberation Day were the best sellers. Special selling places included two Shirley Chisholm rallies, a Ralph Nader meeting, an antiwar rally at Michigan State University in East Lansing, and a May 13 Chicano moratorium, where 70 papers were sold. Thirty papers were sold at two plants and 10 at a teachers union meeting. The bulk, almost 400 of *The Militants*, were sold on six campuses, where the article on the strike policy debate at Columbia was the key selling feature. Other *Militants* were sold at shopping areas and at two high schools."

TOP SALESMAN FOR THE MILITANT at the African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., was Baxter Smith from the Upper West Side in New York, who sold 84 papers. Over 50 copies of the May *International Socialist Review* were sold by James Harris from Washington, D.C.

BRINGING IT HOME: With the spring sessions coming to an end, many students who receive regular *Militant* bundles are leaving campus for the summer. One member of the Young Socialist Alliance isn't content to leave it at that, however. He writes, "I will be spending a few weeks in my home town of Flint, Mich., after spending nine months in the South. Please rush a bundle of 15 *Militants* to me immediately. . . . Who knows, a YSA local could be formed here. . . . The first step towards that is introducing *The Militant* to the populace."

WANTS TO VOTE SWP: With an address change, a subscriber in San Jose, Calif., included the following comment: "The *Militant* has put out a lot of enormously important articles, especially in relation to the meaning of the economic crisis; also, the statements by Jenness/Pulley on immediate issues have moved me right to a place where I want to vote SWP in the upcoming elections."

— NANCY COLE

U.S. war destroys Vietnam's ecology

"It has been a war against the land as much as against armies . . . the damage caused by the large scale disorganization of the environment may be felt for centuries." These were the conclusions of environmentalists Arthur H. Westing and E.W. Pfeiffer after their latest firsthand examination of the effects of the Indochina War. The study, published in the May issue of *Scientific American* under the title "The Cratering of Indochina," dramatically exposes the ecological effects of massive U. S. bombing and shelling.

The sheer volume of munitions directed against Indochina is unprecedented. Between 1965 and 1971 that region was hit by bombs and shells "amounting to approximately twice the total used by the U. S. in all the theaters of World War II." These 13 million tons of munitions equal the energy of 450 Hiroshima nuclear bombs, or 584 pounds of explosives for every man, woman, and child in Indochina. Further, the bombardment was concentrated in South Vietnam (21 billion pounds, compared to 2.6 billion for Laos and 1 billion for North Vietnam) and within the South mainly focused on the northern provinces and the region around Saigon.

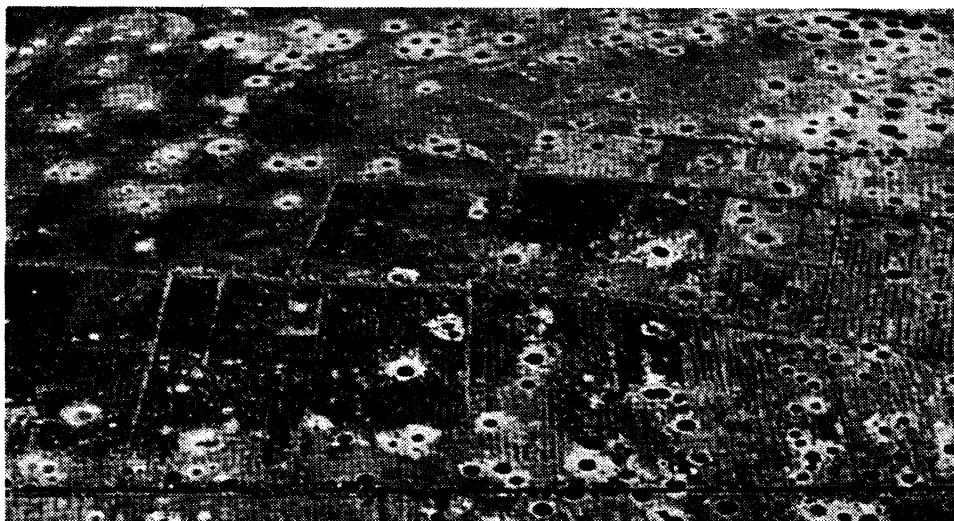
"From the air," Westing and Pfeiffer report, "some areas in Vietnam looked like photographs of the moon." They estimated that craters produced between 1965 and 1971 totalled 26 mil-

lions of the soil to a bricklike state) the removal of vegetation and humus may make the area in and around craters permanently barren." In hilly areas, craters promote erosion, in the delta it destroys irrigation systems, inviting the encroachment of salt water near the coast. Weeds and bamboo, economically worthless and difficult to remove, invade the pockmarked farmland and shattered forests.

The average crater is 20 to 40 feet across and can be up to 20 feet deep. Pfeiffer and Westing reported some filling in of the older craters from surrounding soil, "but this is limited because old craters almost completely covered with grass were still five to 10 feet deep . . . thus they became permanent features of the landscape." Rain-filled craters have become mosquito breeding-grounds, increasing the dangers of malaria and similar diseases.

Stripping the forests

To replace the chemical defoliants that laid bare 5.5 million acres before being "phased out" last year, the U. S. military has introduced massive, systematic bulldozing in its unceasing war with Asian greenery. The Rome plows (20-ton armored Caterpillar tractors with massive 11-foot wide plow blades) are more effective in stripping forest down to a bare soil—and more destructive to the environment.



Bomb craters in fields 20 miles northwest of Saigon.

lion, with a surface area of 423,000 acres, and with shell fragments flying over an area of 32.6 million acres (disregarding overlap). In other words, in a region only slightly larger than Texas, shell holes alone have a combined surface area larger than the state of Connecticut!

Unexploded bombs

The delicate relationships that supported prosperous rice, rubber, and timber industries are shattered. Farmers live in fear of striking one of the hundreds of thousands of unexploded bombs with their plows, while "the ubiquitous missile fragments in the ground cut the hooves of the water buffaloes used as draft animals causing infection and death."

Loggers claim losses of more than 30% in the price received for timber, due to bombardment so intensive that the trees are filled with metal shards . . . in trees left standing the missile-fragment wounds provide ready entry for fungal rot." This rot is especially serious for rubber trees, the basis for a rubber industry already staggered from chemical herbicide losses. Production fell from 77,560 tons of dry rubber in 1960 to 42,500 tons in 1967, a loss the Rubber Research Institute of Vietnam blamed largely on defoliation.

The very earth itself is damaged. "In Indochina, where some of the soil is vulnerable to laterization (hard-

ening of the soil to a bricklike state) the removal of vegetation and humus may make the area in and around craters permanently barren." In hilly areas, craters promote erosion, in the delta it destroys irrigation systems, inviting the encroachment of salt water near the coast. Weeds and bamboo, economically worthless and difficult to remove, invade the pockmarked farmland and shattered forests.

Noting that "only about 5 to 8 percent of the U. S. bombing missions in Indochina have been . . . in direct support of troops," the two ecologists concluded that "one of the main strategies of our military effort has been to disrupt and destroy the social and economic fabric of rural, agricultural Vietnam in order to drive the peasant population into areas under central control and deprive the guerrilla enemy of a power base."

After attending a report by Dr. Westing in January, Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) delivered an impassioned address to Congress, saying that "never before has a land been so massively altered or mutilated . . . these programs should be halted immediately." But the bill he introduced provided for only a six-month study of environmental war damage in Indochina. The Congress will not yet enact, nor will any Democratic or Republican presidential candidate advocate, an immediate end to all bombing and withdrawal of all troops and materiel from Southeast Asia. It is up to the American people, through independent mass action, to halt and reverse the ecocide in Indochina.

—STEVE BECK

Irish republicans discuss repression

By DAVE FRANKEL

NEW YORK, May 25—Last Aug. 9, at 4:30 in the morning, British troops beat down the door of Frank McGlade's home in Northern Ireland and dragged him out of bed. McGlade, who is 61, was taken to an interrogation center. He was held there for 48 hours along with others, many of whom were beaten and otherwise brutalized. He spent the next three weeks in prison and was then transferred to Long Kesh internment camp.

McGlade was released from Long Kesh last month after being held for eight months without charge or trial. An activist in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) and a long-standing member of the Irish republican movement, he is currently in the United States speaking on behalf of NICRA.

In a recent interview he told of the plight of those in internment. He described Long Kesh, which is surrounded by barbed-wire fences and gun towers, as being often flooded and having inadequate recreation and study facilities. British troops, he said, carried out many sudden searches, forcing the interned men to leave their beds and stand outdoors in silence for hours. The soldiers frequently destroyed or stole personal effects during such raids.

In attempting to break the spirit of the internees, the British also conducted humiliating searches before visits and even refused to allow visits, which were limited in any case to a half hour each week. McGlade mentioned one man who went insane as a result of the treatment he received, and he said that others suffered from nervous disorders.

News of the demonstrations in Ireland and in other countries against internment was an important factor in heartening those in the camps, McGlade said. Demonstrations such as those organized in New York by the Anti-Internment Coalition are still necessary, he stressed, because 600 men remain in Long Kesh.

In another interview, Michael Ha-

vord, the press officer of the Derry Civil Rights Association and a member of the six-county executive of NICRA, stressed the need for an international inquiry in to the Jan. 30 ("Bloody Sunday") Derry massacre.

Havord said that immediately following the killing of 13 people during the British army's attack on the civil rights march, activists in the Derry CRA began collecting statements of eyewitnesses to the shootings. More than 900 such statements were collected, the bulk of them from Derry residents.

"We didn't give any evidence at all to Widgery, and Widgery never asked us to," Havord says. "Twenty or 30 of the people we took statements from went before the Widgery tribunal, but their testimony was just dismissed," he continued.

Although he expected the Widgery tribunal to whitewash the actions of the British army, Havord expressed surprise at its crudity. He feels that the Widgery tribunal was convened primarily to prevent the reports of what had happened on "Bloody Sunday" from appearing in the British press. (According to British law, the press is forbidden to discuss a case that is under judicial investigation.)

Havord pointed out that the Widgery tribunal heard no evidence from the Irish Republican Army (IRA), which the British army accused of starting the shooting. Both the Official IRA and the Provisional IRA have, however, agreed to testify before an international inquiry. Such an inquiry could consider all the material available from people who saw the attack on the Derry march, not just the selections used by Widgery.

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association is demanding the end of internment and the repeal of all repressive legislation; the right of one person to one vote and ending the gerrymandering that has prevented the Catholic minority from controlling areas where it is a majority; and the outlawing of discrimination in jobs and housing.

Attica leader speaks in Ga.—urges defense effort

By JESSICA DEFOREST

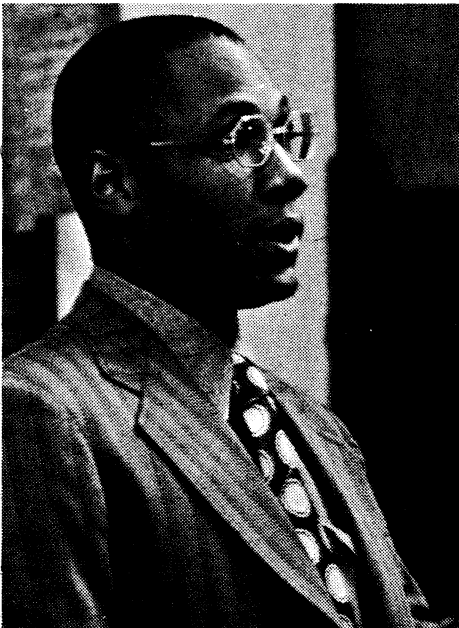
ATLANTA—Richard X Clark, a leader of the Attica prison rebellion last September, made a speaking tour of the Atlanta area May 12-14. The tour, which was arranged by the Militant bookstore, was cosponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Harriet Tubman Prison Committee, the Peoples Committee to Insure Justice, and the

Emory University Black Student Union.

Clark received good media coverage here. A press conference was attended by reporters from the *Atlanta Journal* and *Constitution* and several radio stations. Clark was interviewed on "Ebony Beat," a Black TV-talk show; on the SCLC radio program "M. L. K. Speaks," carried on approximately 200 radio stations; and in the *Atlanta Voice*, Atlanta's major Black newspaper.

In the three days he was here, Clark had speaking engagements at the John F. Kennedy Memorial Center, Emory University, the University of Georgia, and the Militant Bookstore. Approximately \$200 was raised for the Attica defense at these meetings.

When asked about the takeover of D block, Clark said that the rebellion erupted spontaneously when the oppressive conditions finally became more than the prisoners could endure. He also outlined the defense campaign being waged for the Attica inmates, who will probably be charged with the crimes that the state committed at Attica. Clark emphasized the necessity for people everywhere to support the rights of prisoners, particularly, at this time, the rights of those at Attica.



Richard X Clark

Photo by Mark Satinoff

Answer to the Daily World

Longshore leaders & the Pay Board

By FRANK LOVELL

We have it on dubious authority that the recent longshore wage settlement came after a "good fight" by the Bridges leadership of the independent International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on the West Coast.

George Morris, veteran Communist Party labor commentator, makes this pronouncement in the May 20 *Daily World*. He hopes to take some of the sting out of the verbal blows exchanged between Harry Bridges and old-time CP members of the ILWU. The dispute concerned strike strategy and tactics, including overtures by Bridges to merge the 15,000-member ILWU with the much larger East Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA).

Morris says that the 15 percent wage increase granted by the government Pay Board, after slashing 5 percent off the contract negotiated between the employers and the ILWU, may not look so bad to many other workers "who are held to the Pay Board's 5.5 percent or less."

Besides, says Morris, it was foolish to think that the ILA would join the ILWU in a serious challenge of the government Pay Board. "Those hopes were unfounded as long experience with the ILA indicated—and which were confirmed fully in recent weeks. The Nixon Administration played on the well-known conservatism of the ILA's leaders to maintain the division."

The truth is that there was really no basic division between the methods employed by the leaders of these two unions (the trade-union policy of the CP is not much different either). Both union bureaucracies have sought over the years to maintain a relatively high wage level for a limited, and constantly decreasing, number of union members. They have sought to protect their dwindling memberships by negotiating a guaranteed annual wage for registered longshoremen in New York

and other North Atlantic ports, and for the "A" men in the ILWU on the Pacific Coast.

In the West Coast ports longshoremen were paid \$38.52 for an eight-hour day under the previous contract. They now get \$42.30, an average of \$5.28 per hour. The catch is that they don't often work a full week. The favored "A" men may average four days a week over a year, but "B" members get only one or two days work a week.

The provisions for a guaranteed annual wage have been so circumscribed by the new contracts that few longshoremen on either coast will be able to collect anything beyond their pay for the few hours actually worked.

The old methods of collective bargaining—which presumed a common interest between labor and management to increase productivity and guarantee a relatively better standard of living for a limited number of workers in a particular industry—have proved shortsighted for the needs of even those workers. Only the employers have gained from the new equipment and methods of cargo handling.

Since government wage controls were imposed last August, the old methods of collective bargaining were superseded by arbitrary rulings of the Pay Board. In the case of the longshoremen, these traditional methods ran their stormy course. On the West Coast the waterfront bosses broke off negotiations in July, provoking a four-month strike. Between July and March separate strikes were provoked on both coasts. The government intervened in both instances to force the strikers back to work.

Negotiations continued throughout the long test-of-strength between the unions and the waterfront employers. The strategy of the employers, with the advice and assistance of several government agencies, was to wear down the strikers and force them to make concessions on union control of jobs and protective work-rules.

Throughout the extended negotiations and strikes, the union ranks never faltered. Bridges and ILA President Thomas Gleason devised and pursued their own characteristic strike strategies and give-and-take negotiating.

Gleason, as in the past, sought to trade off working conditions and the limited measure of job protection provided by the ILA's guaranteed annual wage plan in exchange for wage gains. Similarly, on the Pacific Coast the Bridges leadership ran a "soft" strike, permitting cargo to move in and out of Canadian and Mexican ports. Bridges, like Gleason, sought to win wage concessions at the expense of jobs and union control of job conditions. In the end, a bargain was struck that gave the employers the concessions they wanted.

Both the employers and the union officials then went to the Pay Board to report their agreement and ask for approval. Both testified to the union's cooperation in handling containerized cargo, use of new methods of loading and discharging of ships, greater efficiency of work crews, and the ready acceptance of technological changes. The union's acceptance of these measures, they both argued, rendered the agreed-upon wage increases noninflationary because of the fantastic leaps in labor productivity that would result.

This does not sound like "a good fight" by Bridges against the employers, as his old friend George Morris would have readers of the *Daily World* believe. On the contrary, it was a defensive effort to reconstitute the long-established collaboration with the waterfront employers. (This collaboration had worked so well between 1948 and 1971 that there were no longshore strikes on the West Coast during those years.)

An additional element was a tacit agreement by union officials on both coasts to support the employer's plea for government approval of cargo-rate

increases.

Morris reports the obscene display of servility by Gleason, who sought to curry favor with the Pay Board by announcing his support of Nixon's blockade of North Vietnamese ports. Gleason let it be known that under such circumstances it would be unthinkable for him to call a strike in U.S. ports. Such prostrations, however, had little effect.

The Pay Board knocked down the wages side of the bargain. It left untouched, however, the concessions won



Harry Bridges

Photo by Ed Harris

by the employers for greater control of hiring and job speedup.

A subsequent arbitration ruling under terms of the new contract on the West Coast has already eliminated the container tax the employers were expected to pay into the longshoremen's guaranteed annual wages fund. This is an additional gift of millions of dollars to the employers.

Longshoremen are now in a worse position than they were last July. Most recognize that they have lost ground and are seeking ways to regain it.

It is becoming clearer to many workers that what most considered to be "economic" questions are in reality

Continued on page 22

The National Picket Line

GEORGE MEANY'S "PROGRAM FOR AMERICA": George Meany, the garrulous president of the AFL-CIO, has started on his rounds to the platform committees of the Democratic and Republican parties. This is a small service he performs every four years when these political tools of Big Business draft their election platforms to hide their real aims and deceive the voters. Meany shows signs of having caught the election fever and sounds more like the politicians in Congress than ever.

When Meany goes before these platform committees, he brings along a 35,000-word document prepared by his social-democratic advisers in the publicity and political-education departments of the AFL-CIO. That's a lot of words, even for the deceitful candidates who have the job of talking without saying anything until November.

Meany advises them to use what his publicity agents call the AFL-CIO "Program for America," which he says will satisfy the needs of the workers in this country. He also hastens to add a couple of assurances of his "responsibility." "They are not proposals to make labor strong to the detriment of others, for that would not be proper or just. We do not ask for a labor government. . . ."

In order to dress up the AFL-CIO proposals, Meany says his is a "put-people-first program." He says, "This means the right to a job with decent pay and working conditions; good health and quality medical care; quality education for all children; clean water to drink and clean air to breathe; decent housing; safety on the street, in the home, at the workplace and on the highways; dignity in the latter years of life; protection in the marketplace from unsafe products, fraudulent warranties and deceptive insurance and bank practices."



George Meany

Photo from AFL-CIO News

This all sounds desirable, but it is unclear how some of these things are to be won for the vast majority except at the expense of some others. For example, how can we eliminate unsafe products, fraudulent warranties, and deceptive insurance and bank practices without hurting the manufacturers and bankers who are the beneficiaries of these fraudulent and deceptive practices?

The more basic question is how will any of the objectives mentioned by Meany be won by the union movement? Certainly not through the Democratic or Republican parties.

The truth is that Meany is not asking for anything. His talk is all make-believe. His proposals on the urgent issues most talked about by union members are extremely modest when not identical with those of the most conservative employers.

On the war: "... we flatly reject the concept

of isolationism. We believe in a defense establishment strong enough, but no stronger than necessary, to meet these obligations."

On inflation: "We have been promised effective policies to combat inflation. Where are they?"

On unemployment: "We seek a rejection of unemployment as an instrument of national policy . . . the government must assume the obligation of being the employer of last resort."

On poverty: "An adequate minimum wage covering all workers is the best single step this country can take to alleviate poverty."

On racism: "We reject the demagogues who incite racial unrest. . . ."

There you have all the necessary planks of a firm platform for most any self-righteous Republican or Democratic candidate to stand on.

If elected on such a platform, they can then go on to Congress and pass war appropriations, make more tax loopholes for the rich, and vote down such "radical" proposals as the AFL-CIO-sponsored bill for a \$2 minimum-wage law.

This happened in the House on May 11 when the minimum-wage law came to a vote. It was rejected 217 to 191. Sixty-nine Democrats and 148 Republicans ganged up to kill the measure.

With such performances by the political representatives of the employers, it should be clear to any but the most craven that nothing of benefit to working people will come from that quarter.

It is true that only the working class can develop a program to solve the social ills in America. But this will develop through the independent action of the workers and their unions, not by submitting meaningless generalities for inclusion in the election propaganda of the Democrats and Republicans.

— FRANK LOVELL

In Review

Books Our Gang



Our Gang by Philip Roth. Bantam Books. New York. 1972. Paperback 95 cents.

Our Gang, which has just come out in paperback, is a masterpiece of political satire. It is also a profoundly truthful book, both in its detailed attention to the hypocrisies of the administration of "Trick E. Dixon" and his real-life counterpart, and in its general picture of the presidency. *Our Gang* is outrageous and hilarious, but hardly more so than the object of its satire (seen in the right light). That is the novel's success.

Some reviewers have missed this point. Arthur Cooper, for example, wrote in the *Saturday Review*, "... Nixon's rough treatment at Roth's hands may well invite more sympathy than anything since the Checkers speech."

Cooper's obvious discomfort shows the power of Roth's message. Here is a work that, unlike *MacBird*, can't be dismissed as pure fantasy, because its plot is based on real events. *MacBird* was a Shakespearean story with topical characters for current satirical interest; *Our Gang* is a story almost out of the newspapers, with fantastic twists to make us see that the story is not only abominable, but also funny.

Roth begins his book with Nixon's surrealistic statement on abortion and the sanctity of human life, made at San Clemente in April 1971. Roth has simply analyzed that statement and shown us its logical consequences: If Lieutenant Calley was not guilty of murder, then was he possibly guilty of abortion if one of his victims was a pregnant woman? Tricky clears Calley of this crime, but the Boy Scouts claim that the president's same "San

Dementia" statement encouraged fornication.

Federal troops shoot down Boy Scouts marching in the streets, and Tricky suavely explains it away. He and his advisers, from Attorney General Malicious to the Reverend Billy Cupcake, concoct a plan to prove that the root of the whole problem is the baseball player Curt Flood. Tricky, in his best performance of the book, goes on television to explain why the U. S. must take military action against Denmark, where Flood is hiding.

An assassin drowns Tricky inside a Baggie, in the fetal position. In Hell, the hero then proceeds to launch a smear campaign for Satan's position, accusing Lucifer of being soft on godliness.

It sounds insane, but is it any wilder than what happens in the real world? Roth's book is, in novel form, approximately what the documentary *Millhouse* is on film.

Tricky's address to the nation is patterned on Nixon's April 30, 1970, speech on the Cambodian invasion, with snatches thrown in from the Checkers speech, the invasion-of-North-Vietnam-to-retrieve-American-prisoners-of-war speech, and doubtless many other speeches as well.

His speech abounds with genuine Nixonisms, many of them direct quotations. His invasion of Denmark is really not an invasion, he explains, "but the liberation from Danish domination of a landmark that has been sacred for centuries to English-speaking peoples around the world and particularly so to Americans"—Hamlet's castle. Tricky maintains that "unlike the Danes," he has no intention of conquering foreign territory or of interfering in others' affairs.

If *Our Gang* can't be mistaken for a literal report of genuine events, it is only because its characters flaunt their hypocrisy and ambitions. Tricky candidly explains on television that by demanding Denmark "negotiate in good faith," he means "giving us what we want." The real Nixon is more subtle.

Roth does not, of course, show how such people get into positions of power under capitalism. One even suspects that he blames the problem on the gullibility of the voters.

But that weakness is really beside the point. The book is not a political argument, but literature in the truest sense (despite Janet Burroway, who, in the *New Statesman*, calls it an example "of how a good writer . . . can blunt his talent by taking up a cause").

Roth has said that he expects the book to accomplish little in the way of political effectiveness. It is, to him, not moral preaching or political propaganda, but art. Nonetheless, this work of art helps us see the kind of man this capitalist president is and the role he plays. Not only is he a warmaker and a liar: he is a petty, sniveling hypocrite and egomaniac. But such is the nature of the presidency of the imperialist U. S. in its death agony. Such is the character of the man who is called forth to fill it, for who else would do the job so well?

—DAVID KEIL

Film Slaughterhouse 5

Slaughterhouse 5. A Universal Film. Directed by George Roy Hill. Produced by Paul Monash.

Slaughterhouse 5 is an interesting experimental movie with a strong anti-war impact. The movie revolves around the bland character of Billy Pilgrim, several absurd accidents (lucky and unlucky ones), and the recurring spectacle of the U. S. destruction of Dresden, Germany, during World War II.

It is based on a novel by Kurt Vonnegut Jr., an author whose work is as widely acclaimed by science fiction fans as it is by the connoisseurs of experimental writing. Vonnegut, in real life, is a veteran of the firebombing of Dresden, one of the few who lived to tell about it.

The details of what happened in Dresden during the U. S. air raid of Feb. 14-15, 1945, are still virtually unknown in the U. S. The Air Force firebombed the city in such a way that the carnage caused by fire and explosion was augmented by an insidious special effect: because much of the bombing was on the perimeter of the city, a vortex was created that produced suffocation on a massive scale.

Many history texts do not touch on this episode at all. The Columbia Viking Desk Encyclopedia says coyly that three-fourths of the city was destroyed by this mysterious event, refusing to list exact figures on the number killed. Vonnegut uses the figure 135,000. Perhaps this is conservative—after all, the population of the city declined by several hundred thousand during the course of the war.

At a time when strikes and demonstrations were posing an internal threat to German fascism, the U. S. destroyed Dresden, a nonmilitary target. The strategic purpose of this savage act was to demoralize the German working people—to make certain that their struggle against Hitler didn't carry over into a socialist revolution.



The movie *Slaughterhouse 5* comes across as a faithful enactment largely because it has the same strong anti-war impact as the novel. There are several differences, however, which lie primarily in the fact that George Roy Hill (before this he directed *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*) has not attempted to recreate on the screen many of Vonnegut's literary devices and several of his most interesting characters.

Billy, the antihero, is played by Michael Sacks, who does a remarkable job of developing this character purely through an occasional facial expression. Billy has as little control over his activity on earth as he does over his activity on Tralfamadore, the planet he visits involuntarily on his time travels. His helpless immobility on the screen gives us a very faithful image of Vonnegut's determinist view of life.

As both a time-traveler and a survivor of the firebombing of Dresden, Billy is condemned to relive the exhumation and incineration of many of the Dresden firebombing fatalities, as well as the firebombing itself.

Hill allows the camera to conduct a very careful study of the city of Dresden before the bombing—its statues and its finely ornamented buildings. Vonnegut compares the city to OZ; the encyclopedia says, somewhat less poetically, that it once contained some of the greatest art treasures of the world.

In the novel, life on Tralfamadore is pictured as a firsthand experience of what life in a Sears-Roebuck catalog might be like—a relief from Dresden, but a far cry from the fantasy world portrayed in the movie.

This discrepancy between the book and movie also involves Hill's heavy-handed treatment of Montana Wildhack, Billy's companion on Tralfamadore. That they enjoy sex together is presented as a routine development by Vonnegut. The moviemakers, however, see this as an opportunity to inject some "box office" footage into this otherwise cerebral movie. Most of the other discrepancies are less important, probably resulting from Hill's attempts to avoid difficulties in the process of adaptation.

Overall, the movie lacks the internal logic of Vonnegut's science fiction, being much more of a film fantasy. In the movie, time travel is reduced to a matter of flashbacks, whereas in the novel it involves actual traveling from one place to another in the fourth dimension.

Vonnegut views human history as an accomplished fact, not a process involving continuous change and development. In his view, time stopped with the firebombing, which will always exist in his mind. If past and present can coexist in a static universe, then efforts to change the world are, if not absurd, at least doomed.

This is the point of view that Vonnegut presents in his powerful vision of annihilation. Its logic doesn't mix very well with the decisive action undertaken by the Vietnamese freedom fighters during this past spring. But the emotional impact of *Slaughterhouse 5* (both the book and the movie) is not muted by these faults in logic. I hope the movie will be seen by large numbers of people. It is an entertaining film fantasy that will help to publicize the little-known facts about the Dresden holocaust.

—DAVID SALNER

Abortion week held in L.A.

By LAUREL KELLY

LOS ANGELES — More than 300 people participated in Women's Right to Choose Week, May 4-11, cosponsored by the Los Angeles Women's Abortion Action Coalition (LAWAAC) and Sisters United, the California State College (L.A.) women's liberation group. The week's activities were scheduled later than most abortion law repeal events around the country to avoid conflicting with the traditional Mexican *Cinco de Mayo* celebrations in Los Angeles May 1-6.

A well-attended production by the Los Angeles Feminist Theater on May 4 kicked off the week. Many of the skits focused on the issue of abortion and the California state law, which stipulates that a woman must be "crazy" to obtain an abortion. The Planned Parenthood film "Each Child Loved"



Evelyn Reed

Photo by John Gray

was shown on May 9 at California State College. Slated for national TV next fall, the film contrasts the degradation of a back-alley, illegal abortion to a competent, safe, legal abor-

tion performed in a New York clinic.

A series of workshops on Asian, Chicana, and Black feminism drew more than 50 men and women on May 10. The Asian Women, a group of campus and community feminists, presented a slide show with skits and poetry. María Elena Gaitán, a representative of CASA (Centro de Acción Social Autónomo—Autonomous Center for Social Action), discussed the dynamics of Chicana feminism. Laura Moorhead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the 37th C.D., spoke on Black liberation and feminism, noting the importance of the abortion law repeal campaign for Black women.

Evelyn Reed, noted Marxist anthropologist and a member of the 1972 Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, spoke to a large and receptive audience on the evening of May 10. Her talk, which dealt with the origins of women's oppression, was followed by a lively discussion period.

Women's Right to Choose Week ended with a debate over the abortion issue on May 11. Dr. Norma Sadwick, a psychologist representing LAWAAAC, confronted Lorna Lincke, a board member of the Right to Life League of Southern California. Fifty people attended.

Farm workers rally in Phoenix

By STEPHEN PERRY

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Five hundred farm workers and supporters rallied in front of the state capitol here May 12 to protest the passage of House Bill 2134. The new law is designed to stop the United Farm Workers (UFW) from organizing in Arizona.

Governor Jack Williams signed the bill into law 45 minutes after it was passed by the Senate May 11. The May 12 rally had been called earlier

to demand that Williams veto the bill.

The main speaker at the rally was Cesar Chavez, national leader of the UFW. In his speech, Chavez referred to the refusal of several senators to keep May 9 appointments with UFW members. "Some of the people in there," Chavez said, gesturing toward the Senate building, "are afraid of their constituency. When our people came to see the legislators, the doors were closed to them." He said the senators' action showed a lack of respect for the farm workers, who "came to the state capitol in a very humble way."

"The governor wouldn't meet with us," Chavez said, "and wouldn't even wait until today to sign the bill."

Chavez vowed to go on a fast "to show love" for the legislators.

Another speaker, Dolores Huerta, a local UFW vice-president, said, "They say this law gives us the right to organize. We have that right in the Constitution. . . . They say this law gives us the right to work. We don't need a law to give us that right."

Huerta continued, "Drinking water in the fields, toilets, protection from pesticides—these are the rights we want. And only the union can get them for us."

Lloyd Dalton, a staff representative of the United Steelworkers in Phoenix, said the members of his union "are with you and there are thousands of Chicanos throughout the mines and smelters in this state." Dalton was one of a number of speakers from other unions at the rally.

A few weeks earlier, when Senator Barry Goldwater spoke to a banquet at the Arizona Biltmore Hotel, he was confronted by UFW members. During a question-and-answer period, Lupe Sánchez of the UFW stepped forward and asked: "Why does your brother hire illegal aliens to pick his citrus crop?" As Sánchez asked his question, three other union members passed out leaflets to most of the crowd.

Goldwater answered Sánchez: "My brother is over 21 and knows what he's doing. If you people would get off your butts and go to work, he would not have to hire Mexican nationals."

Robert Goldwater, the senator's brother, is co-owner of Goldman Enterprises Inc., which owns Arrowhead

Ranch. It is estimated that the ranch crew is approximately 90 percent "illegal aliens," workers without citizenship papers or work permits. They earn from \$5 to \$6 a day. The ranch refuses to hire union workers and fires workers who join the union. Norma Salas, Paula Salas, and Dolores Padrón were all fired recently when a foreman discovered their union membership. Although each of them had worked three hours the day they were fired, they were not paid for their work.

The farm workers plan to hold a Mass each evening during Chavez's fast. On May 15, some 300 farm workers attended such a Mass. Five hundred attended one the following day.

According to LeRoy Chatfield, a UFW press representative, the union may move its national headquarters to Arizona. There has been "official discussion" of such a move, Chatfield said.

Chavez fasted 25 days in 1968 in conjunction with the launching of the national table grapes and lettuce boycott called then by the UFW. This time he is fasting in a 6-foot by 8-foot office in Phoenix. "He's not eating anything," said Chatfield, and a nurse is observing him to "make sure he takes enough water so his system doesn't dehydrate."



Cesar Chavez speaks at May 12 rally on steps of Arizona state capitol.

¡La Raza en Acción!



FARM WORK CLASSIFIED AS THIRD MOST DANGEROUS OCCUPATION: A fact sheet published by the United Farm Workers gives some of the results of the working conditions endured by migrant laborers in the U.S. A study conducted by the Salud Medical Clinic in Tulare County, Calif., found that 80 percent of 774 farm workers interviewed had pesticide poisoning symptoms. A nutritional study in the same county revealed that 50 percent of the workers' children were also affected by the pesticides.

What malnutrition and poor living conditions mean specifically is revealed by statistics showing the death rates of farm workers compared to the national average rates in 1967:

Infant mortality.	125%
Maternal mortality.	125%
Death from flu or pneumonia.	200%
Death from TB and other infectious diseases.	260%
Death from accidents.	300%

TEXAS REAPPORTIONMENT PLAN STRUCK DOWN: The March issue of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund *Newsletter* reports a decision by a three-judge federal court in Austin, Texas, Jan. 28 that could have far-reaching implications for La Raza and Black communities throughout the country.

According to the *Newsletter*, the court ruled in the case of *Regester v. Bullock* that the "Texas legislative reapportionment plan discriminates against Chicanos in Bexar County (San Antonio) and therefore violated the equal protection clause

of the United States Constitution." State representatives from Bexar County have always been elected at-large. In the past, this has meant that the Chicano West Side was "represented" by Anglos since they could muster a majority of the votes county-wide. In addition, the money involved in running a county-wide campaign has traditionally been out of the reach of most Chicanos.

The court made three significant determinations in its decision. First it recognized Chicanos as a distinguishable group that had been discriminated against in the past. The ruling stated: "Because of long standing educational, social, legal, political and other wide-spread prevalent restrictions, customs, traditions, biases and prejudices, some of a so-called *de jure* and some of a so-called *de facto* character, the Mexican American population of Texas, which amounts to about 20%, has historically suffered from, and continues to suffer from the results and effects of invidious discrimination and treatment in the fields of education, employment, economics, health, politics and others."

Second, the court determined that the barrio on the West Side of San Antonio had never been adequately represented in the state legislature and that no legislation was introduced at the last session by the representatives from Bexar County that could help remedy the serious problems faced there by La Raza. "Race is still an important issue in Bexar County," the court stated, "and because of it, Mexican Americans are frozen into permanent political minorities destined for constant defeat at the hands of

controlling political majorities."

Third, the court ruled that when a minority continued to suffer discrimination socially and politically, "a peculiar districting scheme, which gives it 'less opportunity' to participate successfully," would be voided by the courts.

This case could provide an important precedent for La Raza in areas where we are a minority but concentrated in particular areas (like in many major cities) and yet city councils, school boards, county boards of supervisors or county commissioners are elected at-large. In some cases (such as in Oakland, Calif.), a candidate runs from a "district" but the voting is at-large. This guarantees that the Anglo majority will continue determining what takes place within the Chicano and Black communities.

The Bexar County ruling could set the legal stage for the incorporation of East Los Angeles, which is majority Chicano and yet ruled by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, which does not have a single Chicano member. This kind of situation is repeated in city after city throughout the country. At minimum, a good case could be made for electing county supervisors by districts.

The plaintiffs in the Bexar County case were represented by Ed Idar Jr., Associate Counsel of MALDEF in San Antonio. He was assisted by George Korbel, a MALDEF-VISTA attorney.

Those interested in further information on the court victory or in receiving the *MALDEF Newsletter* can write: Ed Idar Jr., 319 Aztec Building, 211 W. Commerce St., San Antonio, Texas 78205.

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

Calendar

ATLANTA

NIXON'S MOSCOW VISIT: ANOTHER BLOW TO THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION. Speaker: Seth Widgerson, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 9. 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information, call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

SOCIALISTS IN THE '72 ELECTIONS. A series of classes. 7:30 p.m. at 655 Atlantic Ave. (opposite South Station). Admission: \$1 per class. Aup. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

Mon., June 5: The Election Campaigns of Eugene V. Debs. Speaker: George Weissman.

Wed., June 7: Yankees with their Pants Down, or What the Schoolbooks Don't Tell about New England History. Speaker: George Weissman.

Mon., June 12: Black Political Power. Speaker: Derrick Morrison.

Wed., June 14: Black Liberation. Speaker: Derrick Morrison.

BROOKLYN

IN DEFENSE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN STRUGGLE. Reports on Argentina, Brazil, and Puerto Rico. Fri., June 9. 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Forum. For more information, call (212) 596-2849.

CHICAGO

WAGE CONTROLS AND THE UNIONS. Speaker: Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers Party trade-union director. Fri., June 9, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (312) 641-0147.

DETROIT

GAY PRIDE DAYS. Speakers: three members of the steering committee for Michigan Gay Pride Days, June 23-25. Fri., June 9, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Forum. For more information, call (313) 831-6135.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE. Sat., June 10. University of Houston, University Center, San Jacinto Room. Donation: \$1.

10 a.m.: Socialist Strategy for '72. Speaker: Richard Garcia, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate.

1:30 p.m.: Capitalism Fouls Things Up. A panel of socialist candidates from Texas speaking on health care, governmental corruption, education, the prisons, and pollution.

2:30 p.m.: Making the American Revolution. Speaker: Mike Alewitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Texas.

CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY. Sat., June 10. 6409 Lyons Ave. 6 p.m.: refreshments. 7 p.m.: international smorgasbord. 8 p.m.: rally. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president; and Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas. Donation: \$2.50. Aup. Texas Socialist Workers Campaign '72, Young Socialists

for Jenness and Pulley, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information, call (713) 673-9445.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

VIETNAM FOR THE VIETNAMESE. U.S. OUT NOW! Speakers: Tran Khanh Tuyet and David Sung, Vietnamese students and representatives of the Indochina Resource Center; and Fred Lovgren, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee. Fri., June 9, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (at 4th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, AND THE INDOCHINESE REVOLUTION. Speaker: Joanna Misnik, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 20th C.D. Fri., June 9, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (106 St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (212) 663-3000.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Studies in Revolution. June 8-Aug. 6. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis. Opening series of classes on The Soviet Union and World Revolution—An Assessment of Stalinism.

Thurs., June 8: Stalinism, Some Central Questions. Teacher: Charles Scheer.

Mon., June 12: The Left Opposition Inside the Communist Party. Teacher: Paul Chelstrom.

Thurs., June 15: The Betrayal of the Chinese Revolution. Teacher: Dean Hall.

Admission: \$7.50 for entire summer school or 50c per class. Aup. Young Socialist Alliance. Telephone: (612) 332-7781.

...Africa

Continued from page 3

Other speakers were the reverends Charles Koen of Cairo, Ill., and Cecil Williams of San Francisco; Willie Brown, state assemblyman; D'Army Bailey, Berkeley city councilman; Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party; and Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind. Tanya Russell, a member of the national steering committee of the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee, chaired the rally.

Hatcher, the main speaker of the day, explained how the struggle of African people around the world is one and the same. He denounced those Black leaders who had refused to participate in the May 27 action.

According to Larry Jones, chairman of the Black Youth for Progress (BYP), about 400 Blacks in New Orleans, La., marched and rallied on African Liberation Day. The coalition that built the action consisted of the BYP, Congress of African People, Black Panther Party, Republic of New Africa, Black Workers Congress, and the NAACP.

...pact

Continued from page 12

as its signers and supporters claim. It leaves the warmakers in Washington in full possession of their nuclear arsenal and with a green light to build it "bigger and better."

This, it must be repeated, is an "arms control" pact signed *during a shooting war*. In Vietnam, the U.S. has mounted the heaviest bombing attack ever known in war against a popular revolution. Not only does the "arms control" pact have no effect on the U.S. imperialists' counterrevolutionary slaughter in Southeast Asia, it has no effect whatsoever on the military dictators and other imperialist stooges the world over.

"Peaceful coexistence" does not stem from the needs of the world revolution. It is rooted in the narrow nationalist outlook of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which under the leadership of Stalin, usurped power in the Soviet Union and crushed Lenin's Bolshevik Party.

These bureaucrats replaced the doctrine of world revolution with the doctrine of "building socialism in one country," a cover for subordinating the needs of the world revolution to the needs of the bureaucracy itself. Instead of promoting world revolution, Stalin and his followers sought ways of curtailing the world revolution to curry favor with imperialism. In 1943 Stalin himself buried the Communist International founded by Lenin as a sop to Churchill and Roosevelt. The leaders of the Soviet Union who followed him, including the present ones, never bemoaned its loss.

They don't believe in promoting the world revolution. They believe in making deals with the imperialists. That is why the woman who spoke out for the Vietnamese at the Moscow ballet was not greeted with applause by the chiefs of the Soviet Communist Party.

...program

Continued from page 13

are doing their utmost to restrain the people and to keep them behind Papandreou. The pro-Moscow Commu-

nist Party in Spain has even found "positive elements" in the Franco regime.

Economic, cultural and tourist exchanges continue to be fostered with the United States while American bombs crash on the towns and industries of North Vietnam and the Pentagon uses that unfortunate country as a proving ground for fiendish new instruments of death and destruction, for the "bleeding" of raw American troops, and for "test runs" of B-52s capable of carrying H-bombs deep into China or the Soviet Union. The "test runs" of the B-52s have now become a daily routine.

...dockers

Continued from page 19

central *political* issues. The questions of wages and unemployment are related to government policy. Contracts negotiated between the unions and employers can now be torn up by the government.

Unions can cope with these conditions when a leadership develops that recognizes that the employers have come to an understanding among themselves to drive down the workers' standard of living, using their control of the government for this purpose.

This means that those who hope to fight for better wages must be prepared to summon the independent might of the entire labor movement to challenge present government policy.

Such a challenge cannot be made in collaboration with the employers, as was attempted in the longshore settlement. It cannot be made through the political parties of the employers—the Democratic and Republican parties—as will be attempted by many in the general elections this fall.

It can only come in the course of an *independent* struggle by the unions for their elementary rights. But this calls for the really "good fight" that yet needs to be organized.

This is why the Socialist Workers Party calls for an emergency conference of the labor movement. Such a conference, composed of delegates democratically elected by the rank and file of all unions, could unite the working class in a struggle against the costly war program of the employers, inflation, and unemployment.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathers, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Ariz. 85001. Tel: (602) 968-5738.

Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Claremont: YSA, c/o Andrea Weissberg, 247 Oberlin Ave., Claremont, Calif. 91711. Tel: (714) 624-2294.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.

San Diego: YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Greta Schiller, 685 Menker #4, San Jose, Calif. 95128. Tel: (408) 275-8453.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Ann Hyink, 344 Barneson Ave., San Mateo, Calif. 94402.

Santa Barbara: YSA, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-4086.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Jim Sarsgard, 1020 Kent St., #114, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 443-9923.

Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Randy Erb, 114 Huntington St., Hartford, Conn. 06105.

New Haven: YSA and Socialist Workers '72 Campaign, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Bill Boyd, 514 N. Bronough, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

Tampa: Socialist Workers Campaign '72 c/o David Maynard, P.O. Box 702, 4100 Fletcher Ave., Tampa, Fla. 33612.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor, SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o John Center, 1407 Schnider Hall, Bush Towers, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 453-5882.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 758-2935 (night).

Macomb: YSA, c/o Lynn Llyod, 809 Corbin, Macomb, Ill. 61455.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Gary: c/o Cartwright, 123 W. Indiana, Chesterton, Ind. 46304.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o Craig Biggio, P.O. Box 18250, Baton Rouge, La. 70803. Tel: (504) 388-1517.

MARYLAND: College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, Box 324, Student Activities Office, Campus Center, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; and Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, c/o Andy Farrand, Box 456, Clark U, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Socialist Workers Campaign '72, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass. 01603.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, c/o Rich Ropers, 401 W. Maple, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, c/o LPO 12149, Livingston College, New Brunswick, N.J. 08903.

Wayne: YSA, c/o Clyde Magarelli, William-Paterson College of N.J., 300 Pompton Rd., Wayne, N.J. 07470.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Vivian Abeles, 3807 Thaxton S.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87108. Tel: (505) 268-1541.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 260-0976.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32804, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

Columbus: YSA, 1612 Summit St. (side entrance), Columbus, Ohio 43201. Tel: (614) 299-2942.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 1216 1/2 Lincoln, Eugene, Ore. 97401.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, c/o John Sajewski, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, c/o Stan Max, Kingston Inn, Room 210, 1320 Kingston Road, Kingston, R.I. 02881. Tel: (401) 783-7855.

Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, c/o Keith Harris, P.O. Box 8402, University Sta., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916.

Nashville: YSA, c/o Elizabeth Lariscy, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37201. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

TEXAS: Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703. Tel: (512) 478-8602. Bookstore: 611 West 29th.

Houston: SWP and YSA and Pathfinder Books, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020. Tel: (713) 674-0612.

Lubbock: YSA, Box 5090, Tech. Sta., Lubbock, Texas 79409. Tel: (806) 747-6842.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

VERMONT: Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 306 Chittenden Hall, U of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 05401.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor, Wash., D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 406 E. McKenzie, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o Mary Jo Vogel, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-1693.

in the June
International Socialist Review

THE SOVIET BLOC

includes: THE SOVIET ECONOMY TODAY: TOWARD CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM? by Ernest Mandel; THE TWILIGHT OF BUREAUCRATIC REFORMISM IN EASTERN EUROPE by Cliff Conner; ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN, A NEW HISTORIC IMPULSE by Dora Taylor; DOCUMENTS OF THE NEW SOVIET OPPOSITION.

☐ Enclosed is \$1 for 3 months of the ISR.

☐ Send me 1 year of the ISR for \$5.

Name _____ Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
International Socialist Review, 14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y.
10014

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY [1933-34]

edited by George Breitman and Bev Scott

Convinced by the German catastrophe that the Communist International could no longer be restored to a Leninist path, Trotsky called for a new International and went to work to assemble its cadre. Much of this volume, the sixth in a series of eleven volumes, consists of his answers to various critics of this audacious task. Trotsky also outlined a comprehensive analysis of the coming war, wrote about the Reichstag fire trial, and exposed the pacifist mask Hitler maintained. He analyzed the life of Anatole V. Lunacharsky, the class nature of the Soviet Union, Christian Rakovsky's capitulation to Stalin, and the fascists' attempt to overthrow the French government in February 1934. The French government ordered Trotsky expelled in April, but the order could not be executed because no other country would accept the man without a visa. 380pp., \$3.45, cloth \$8.95.

Write for our free 1972 catalog:
Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014
(212) 741-0690

LOS ANGELES

PICNIC

Sunday, June 18, Elysian Park (Scott at Stadium Way). For reservations, call 213-463-1917. Ausp. Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Ἄν θέλετε νά εἰσθε ἐνήμερος
τῆς καταστάσεως
στὴν Ἑλλάδα,
ἐγγραφεῖτε συνδρομητῆς στό

Intercontinental Press

"If you want to keep up with the situation in Greece, subscribe to *Intercontinental Press*," urges one of our partisans in that country.

You don't need to know Greek to read *Intercontinental Press*. It's writ-

ten in straight-forward English, issued on a weekly basis (except during August and the Christmas holidays).

Fill out the subscription blank and mail it in with your check.

Intercontinental Press
P. O. Box 116, Village Station
New York, N. Y. 10014

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

☐ Enclosed is \$7.50 for six months.

☐ Enclosed is \$15 for one year.

☐ Please send a sample copy.



HELP CHANGE THE SHAPE OF THE WORLD!

JOIN THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The Young Socialist Alliance is a revolutionary organization of activists in the antiwar, women's liberation, student, and the Black and Chicano nationalist movements. A total transformation of society and the construction of socialism are what the YSA is fighting for. If you want to work for revolutionary change, join the YSA.

☐ I would like more information about the YSA.

☐ I want to join the YSA.

☐ Enclosed is \$1.25 for a copy of Young Socialist strategy for '72 (a pamphlet containing the reports and resolutions from the eleventh national YSA convention).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Send to YSA, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Now that you've read THE MILITANT... Why not subscribe? 10 ISSUES FOR \$1

☐ \$1 for a 10-week introductory subscription.

☐ \$3 for a six-month subscription.

☐ \$1.50 for GIs for six months.

☐ \$6 for a one-year subscription.

☐ New ☐ Renewal

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

THE MILITANT

Portland SMC wages battle against frame-up damage suit

By GEORGE KONTANIS

PORTLAND, Ore., May 30 — On May 18 the Georgia Pacific Corporation announced in the news media here that it had filed a suit against the local Student Mobilization Committee. The SMC's organizers, 15 individuals, and 100 "John Doe" SMC members were named in the suit. The company asked for \$120,000 in damages and a permanent injunction against future protests near their downtown headquarters.

This suit stemmed from alleged events at a legal, peaceful antiwar protest organized by the SMC on May 11. Georgia Pacific characterizes the SMC, the sponsor of many of Portland's peace demonstrations, as a conspiratorial, violence-bent organization. It charges the SMC and the individuals named of plotting destruction of Georgia Pacific property to create publicity for the antiwar movement.

The suit is riddled with slanders and innuendos. For example, it states that on "not less than two other occasions, similar acts were committed that the plaintiff believes to be connected with the said SMC." These charges came on the eve of a mayoral contest between Bill deWeese and Neil Goldschmidt. Georgia Pacific has poured thousands of dollars into deWeese's campaign. Goldschmidt, a liberal, as acting mayor had issued permits for the May 11 march and later equivocated under pressure from Georgia Pacific. At first denying a permit for the march, he later set the stage for a police riot by granting

a permit and then surrounding the march with an army of 500 cops.

The May 11 action, called to answer Nixon's escalation of the war in Southeast Asia, was one in a series of recent public protests endorsed and organized by the SMC. It was hardly a "secret plot" against the lumber monopolists at Georgia Pacific.

The *Oregonian*, Portland's major newspaper, noted that the march was peaceful and orderly. It also reported that a small group of individuals split off the march at Fifth and Taylor and threw rocks at an induction center and later, at Georgia Pacific. A letter in the same paper by a participant in the May 11 march, not an SMC member, stated: "The fact of the matter is that the demonstration started peacefully at Portland State University and was made up not only of students, but also mothers and children, some businessmen, and some middle-aged working men. The fact is that the march of 1000 protesters or more marched through the designated streets of Portland under police escort."

This letter and many others in the local press, in addition to an article in the *Scribe*, Portland's largest underground newspaper, expose the ludicrous charge that the SMC is "violence prone." They point out that the SMC has always supported peaceful, legal protests that can involve as many people as possible who are opposed to the war. In fact, the SMC has often been criticized by those within the antiwar movement who favor

violent confrontations.

Georgia Pacific, by singling out the SMC, its organizers, and 15 named individuals (many of whom are not SMC members), is attempting to intimidate and gag the antiwar movement. Its attack on the civil liberties of the citizens of Portland is not going unanswered.

The SMC has already obtained legal help. With other organizations it has initiated the formation of a broad defense committee, the Committee to Defend the Right to Protest. This committee is going full-steam ahead in getting endorsements from the political, antiwar, labor, student, Black, and women's groups in Portland. It is getting out publicity on the real facts of May 11, which have been obscured by Georgia Pacific's violence-baiting in the mass media. The chairwoman of the Committee is Shirley Gold, executive secretary of the Portland Federation of Teachers. Its treasurer is David Linder, director of Medical Research at the University of Oregon Medical School.

Ann Powers, a member of the Portland Federation of Teachers and a member of the Committee to Defend the Right to Protest, said, "We are going to fight the suit and see it thrown out of the courts. We are confident that the people of Portland will support the Committee to Defend the Right to Protest, and see the Georgia Pacific suit for what it really is—an unconstitutional attack on the civil liberties of the thousands of Portlanders who have protested the war."

U of Cal Senate attacks SMC

By JOHN VOTAVA

BERKELEY, May 27 — On May 24, student lobby groups at the University of California here banded together with so-called anti-imperialists to pass a motion in the Berkeley student senate to "phase out" the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) from student government sponsorship and funding.

The resolution would have only very limited practical effect, but its intention was to use the student senate as a bludgeon against organizations whose views differ from the ideas of those who made the motion.

The student lobby groups, which initiated the action and which granted themselves almost \$20,000 compared

to \$480 for the SMC, have consistently opposed the SMC's attempts to mobilize massive numbers of people against the war, independently of any political candidates.

The "anti-imperialists" disagree with SMC's insistence on peaceful mass action as opposed to trashing. Five of them abstained from the vote and two voted in favor of the reactionary motion to deny the SMC senate funding and endorsement. The motion was carried by a vote of 10 to 8.

Brenda Brdar and Marilyn Winch, both members of the student senate and of the SMC, argued that the senate should not discriminate among

antiwar groups. Instead, they maintained, it should support all of them while fighting for the expansion of inadequate funds for student organizations.

It was also pointed out that such actions on the part of the senate turned students against each other instead of uniting them against the administration and the forces supporting the war.

The SMC is launching an effort to have the "phase out" motion overturned. It requests that telegrams of protest be sent to: ASUC, University of California, Berkeley, Calif. 94720, with copies to the SMC, Third Floor Eshleman, University of California, Berkeley, Calif. 94720.

Women fight Conn. abortion law

By BERNIE KRAWCZYK

NEW HAVEN, Conn., May 29 — *Women v. Connecticut*, the group whose court suit knocked down Connecticut's old anti-abortion law, has filed suit against the reactionary new abortion law passed by the state legislature last week.

After a federal court ruled Connecticut's abortion statute unconstitutional in April, *Women v. Connecticut* won an injunction on May 10 barring the state from prosecuting under that law. But Governor Thomas Meskill and anti-abortion groups were quick to force a new bill through the

state legislature. This bill retained all the restrictions contained in the old law, making abortion illegal except to save a woman's life. In addition, criminal penalties were increased in the new bill, which Meskill signed into law May 23.

The women involved in *Women v. Connecticut* have pointed out that this new law violates women's right to choose whether to have children, just as the old law did. They are demanding that the injunction granted May 10 be extended to cover this new law. They have also filed a contempt-of-court motion against Meskill.

One of the plaintiffs in this new suit is a pregnant woman. *Women v. Connecticut* reports that outraged women are responding enthusiastically to the suit. Many are women who have never before taken action around any political issue. In a statement condemning the Catholic Church hierarchy's support for the new abortion law, a leader of Catholic Women for the Right to Choose said, "As a Catholic woman who takes issue on the doctrine of the Church, but not of God, I believe that as it is not the Catholic Church who will in the end sit in judgment upon my actions, neither should it legislate it."

Davis trial judge sets fine

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN JOSE, May 30 — The prosecution concluded its rebuttal in one hour today without being able to discredit last week's testimony for the defense. The prosecution hinted that it might have succeeded in contradicting a portion of the defense's case if it had been able to question Lester Jackson Jr., the father of George and Jonathon Jackson.

Jackson, however, refused to answer any of the prosecution's questions. He was fined \$100 for contempt of court. With the jury absent from the courtroom, prosecutor Albert Harris asked Jackson if he had driven his wife and his son Jonathan to the Los Angeles airport at 9 a.m. on Aug. 1, 1970. An affirmative answer would have contradicted the previous testimony of defense witness Tamu Ushindi (Valerie Mitchell) that on the same date Jonathan Jackson visited her Los Angeles apartment, where several weapons purchased by Angela Davis were stored. Ushindi had intimated that Jonathan Jackson took the weapons from the apartment without the knowledge of Davis.

Lester Jackson made his reply carefully, although obviously in anguish: "Sir," he told the prosecutor, "I have lost two sons. I just don't want to take part in these proceedings for the preservation of my mental health." Jack Tenner, counsel for Jackson, said later that his client would not participate in the trial proceedings against Angela Davis because of the circumstances in which his sons were shot down by the state and because "this trial is of interest to people of color from around the world." Sixty-five dollars was raised from spectators in the courtroom to help pay Jackson's fine.

After sentencing Jackson for contempt, Judge Richard Arnason denied an earlier motion by the defense to dismiss all charges against Angela Davis. Final arguments by the prosecution and the defense begin tomorrow, May 31, and the case should go to the jury within a week.

Defense supporters are planning daily vigils outside the courthouse in San Jose, in New York, and in other cities while the jury is deliberating. The National United Committee to Defend Angela Davis is calling for local protest actions to demand that the state dismiss the charges if the jury returns undecided or with a verdict for conviction. If the jury votes for acquittal, they plan to use the victory to build the movement to free all political prisoners.



Angela Davis